

“Thera Are So Many Thinks What You Had to Solve”

Lexical and Syntactic Transfer in the English Compositions Written by Finnish First-Year Upper Secondary School Students

Tuomo Nevanperä

University of Tampere

Faculty of Communication Sciences

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Tämä tutkielma käsittelee äidinkielen siirtovaikutusta suomalaisten ensimmäisen vuosikurssin lukio-opiskelijoiden englanninaineissa. Siirtovaikutuksella tarkoitetaan tapoja, joilla oppijan äidinkieli vaikuttaa kohdekielen omaksumiseen ja tuottamiseen negatiivisesti tai positiivisesti. Tutkielmassa analysoitiin siirtovaikutusta kirjoitetussa englannissa. Analyysi pohjautui 72 oppilasaineeseen, joista 53 oli suomenkielisten ja 19 ruotsinkielisten opiskelijoiden kirjoittamia. Aineisto kerättiin tutkimusta varten kevään 2016 aikana Hämeenlinnasta, Tampereelta ja Vaasasta.

Tutkielma perustui kolmeen tutkimuskysymykseen: millä tavoin äidinkielen vaikutus näkyy lukiolaisten englanninaineissa, eroavatko analyysin tulokset aiemmista tutkimuksista ja onko oppilasaineissa eroja suomen- ja ruotsinkielisten opiskelijoiden välillä. Siirtovaikutusta tutkittiin vertaamalla lukiolaisten oman äidinkielen piirteitä, kerättyjä englanninaineita ja standardienglannin konventioita. Lisäksi suomen- ja ruotsinkielisten opiskelijoiden aineita verrattiin keskenään. Tutkimus keskittyi suomenkielisten lukiolaisten aineisiin ruotsinkielisten aineiden toimiessa vertailuaineistona. Teoriapohjana toimivat Nationin malli sanaston oppimisen kolmesta tasosta sekä Jarvisin metodologinen viitekehys siirtovaikutuksen tunnistamisesta. Analyysi rajattiin kahdeksaan leksikaaliseen piirteeseen sanaston muotojen, merkitysten ja käytön tasolla ja viiteen syntaktiseen piirteeseen (muodolliset subjektit, prepositiot, passiivirakenteet, tulevan ajan ilmaisut, että-lauseet). Samoihin piirteisiin on keskitytty aimmin Lea Meriläisen vuoden 2010 väitöskirjassa. Meriläisen englannin ylioppilasaineita tutkinut väitöskirja muodosti pääasiallisen vertailukohteen tuloksille.

Tutkielman tulokset olivat pääosin samanlaisia Meriläisen väitöskirjan kanssa: suomenkielisten lukiolaisten äidinkieli vaikutti aineissa negatiivisesti niin leksikon kuin syntaksinkin tasolla. Meriläisen tutkimukseen verrattuna äidinkielen siirtovaikutus oli kuitenkin yleisempää ensimmäisen vuosikurssin englanninaineissa. Sanastotasolla siirtovaikutus näkyi ensimmäisen vuosikurssin aineissa erityisesti sanaston muodoissa virheellisenä yhdyssanojen ja isojen alkukirjainten käyttönä sekä merkitystasolla suomenkielisten ilmausten suorina käännöksinä. Syntaksin tasolla suomen kieli vaikutti negatiivisesti varsinkin englannin prepositioiden valintaan. Meriläisen tutkimuksesta poiketen siirtovaikutus vaikutti aiheuttavan myös englannin passiivien ja että-lauseiden välttämistä. Ruotsinkielisten opiskelijoiden aineissa esiintyi vähemmän negatiivista siirtovaikutusta kuin suomenkielisten aineissa: ruotsinkieliset hyötyivät ruotsin ja englannin samankaltaisuuksista, joskin kielten läheisyys johti suomenkielisiä yleisemmin virheisiin englannin oikeinkirjoituksessa. Tutkielman perusteella äidinkielen ja kohdekielen välinen etäisyys ja kielitaidon taso vaikuttavat olennaisesti siirtovaikutuksen esiintyvyyteen, mutta aineiston koon vuoksi tulokset ovat viitteellisiä.

Avainsanat: äidinkielen siirtovaikutus, leksikko, syntaksi, kieltenopetus

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# 1 Introduction

The purpose of this Master of Arts thesis is to study language transfer in the English compositions written by Finnish first-year upper secondary school students. The primary aim in the thesis is to analyse how the students' native language affects their written English and in what ways the influence from Finnish is manifested in their English compositions. Language transfer is studied on the levels of both lexicon and syntax. The analysis of lexical transfer focuses on nine different categories of lexical transfer: substitutions, relexifications, orthographic transfer, phonetic transfer, morphological transfer, loan translations, semantic extensions, collocations, and functional transfer. As for syntactic transfer, the analysis covers five different features: passive constructions, expletive pronoun constructions, subordinate clause patterns, future time, and prepositional constructions. Lexical and syntactic features included in the thesis are similar to the ones used by Meriläinen (2010). Meriläinen (ibid) studied Finnish upper secondary school students' English compositions written in Matriculation Examinations in 1995, 2000, and 2005. Meriläinen (2010) is one of the most recent language transfer studies focusing on written English texts in Finland, which is why I have adopted a similar methodological framework.

The material used in this thesis comprises 72 student compositions in English: 53 written by Finnish-speaking first-year upper secondary school students and 19 by Swedish-speaking students. The primary focus is on Finnish-speaking students and manifestations of language transfer in their compositions. The smaller collection of compositions by Swedish-speaking students serves as a comparative set of data. The comparative data set is needed to separate instances of language transfer from more general processes of second language (L2) acquisition. Comparisons between the two data sets provide likewise some insights into differences between Finnish- and Swedish-speaking learners of English. The thesis focuses on three research questions:

1. In what ways does Finnish influence first-year upper secondary school students' writing in English on the levels of lexicon (word forms, word meanings, and word use) and syntax (passive constructions, expletive pronoun constructions, subordinate clause patterns, future time, and prepositional constructions)? Are there particular areas of lexicon and/or syntax where the effects of transfer are most visible?
2. How do the results of the analysis compare to earlier research (particularly to those presented in Meriläinen 2010)? Are there differences between compositions written by first-year students and students at the end of their upper secondary school studies?
3. How are the English compositions written by first-year Finnish- and Swedish-speaking students different from each other? Are there systematic differences between the two groups concerning lexical and syntactic transfer?

I argue that my thesis is a relevant one because it targets a group that has received little attention in earlier research: students at *the initial stage* of their upper secondary school English studies. Language transfer is by no means a novel research area, and there are some earlier studies on Finnish learners of English in upper secondary school (Ringbom 1987, Sjöholm 1989, 1995, Meriläinen 2008, 2010). However, many of the previous studies have focused on students who are at the very end of their English studies. Ringbom (1987) and Meriläinen (2008, 2010) have all focused on learners who have been completing their Matriculation Examinations. There are few studies focusing on upper secondary students at the earlier stages of their studies, meaning that this thesis would fill a gap in earlier research<sup>1</sup>. One can also suggest that formal teaching has a great effect on students' language competence, and thus the effects language transfer could be different in first-year student's compositions as opposed to older students.

Furthermore, this thesis is relevant since there are few contemporary studies of language transfer in Finland. Even if language transfer has been studied before, many of the previous studies

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<sup>1</sup> Sjöholm (1989) and (1995) are one of the few studies targeting younger upper secondary school. However, the scope of these studies has been rather narrow: Sjöholm (1989) studied preposition errors while Sjöholm (1995) focused on the acquisition of English phrasal verbs.

are rather old and possibly outdated. The current, ubiquitous position of English as a global lingua is likely to have an effect on students' English, meanings that my results could well be different from those presented previously. Transfer research has likewise suffered from inconsistent methodology, which has led to conflicting results in before (Ellis 1986: 28–29, Jarvis 2000a: 245–248).

In addition to contributing to future research, this thesis has some applicability for language pedagogy. The results of the analysis might help teachers and writers of educational materials to better address those areas of language where learners of English have difficulties (if there are such areas). A detailed analysis of transfer can possibly assist language professionals to better acknowledge the specific needs of students at this stage and to identify potential problem areas.

## **2 Theoretical framework**

The aim of this thesis is to analyse language transfer in the English compositions written by Finnish upper secondary school students. The thesis focuses on the concept of *language transfer* which refers to various ways of how the learner's first language (L1) affects the acquisition of the second language (L2) (Ellis 1997: 51). In the context of Finnish-speaking learners of English, language transfer can be defined frankly as the influence of Finnish on the learners' written or spoken English. The term language transfer is sometimes treated as a synonym for *L1 influence*, *cross-linguistic influence*, *native language influence*, *linguistic interference*, and *language mixing* (Odlin 2003: 437), which illustrates that there is a disagreement on common terminology. It appears that the term *cross-linguistic influence* is particularly frequent in more contemporary sources where it is used synonymously with *transfer* (Meriläinen 2010: 11–12). Still, it is worth noting that overall the term *language transfer* has been used most commonly in previous research (Ringbom 2007: 30), and hence it is the term preferred in this thesis as well.



The purpose of section 2 is to introduce and clarify central terms relating to language transfer and to provide an overview of the history and the present state of transfer research. Language transfer may appear as a simple theoretical construction, but it is actually a multifaceted concept that functions as a broad umbrella term for a number of more specific terms (Selinker 1992: 207–208). A brief discussion of terminology and how different concepts relate to each other is therefore required. Central terms and concepts are considered in sub-section 2.1.

Also, it should be noted that transfer is not limited to one particular area of language. Language transfer concerns several linguistic subsystems such as phonology, syntax, word functions, and meaning of words (Siegel 2009: 577). It has likewise been argued to influence the learners' knowledge of various abstract concepts such as time, definiteness, and modality (Klein 1986: 27–28). Since language transfer is a complex phenomenon affecting several distinct subsystems, it is no wonder that it has been studied to some extent even before. In order to outline how research on language transfer has developed over the years, a discussion of the history of the field is given in sub-section 2.2. Previous studies on transfer in the Finnish context are given particular attention in sub-section 2.3. Finally, a number of other factors bearing on transfer, such as language proficiency and language distance, are discussed in sub-section 2.4.

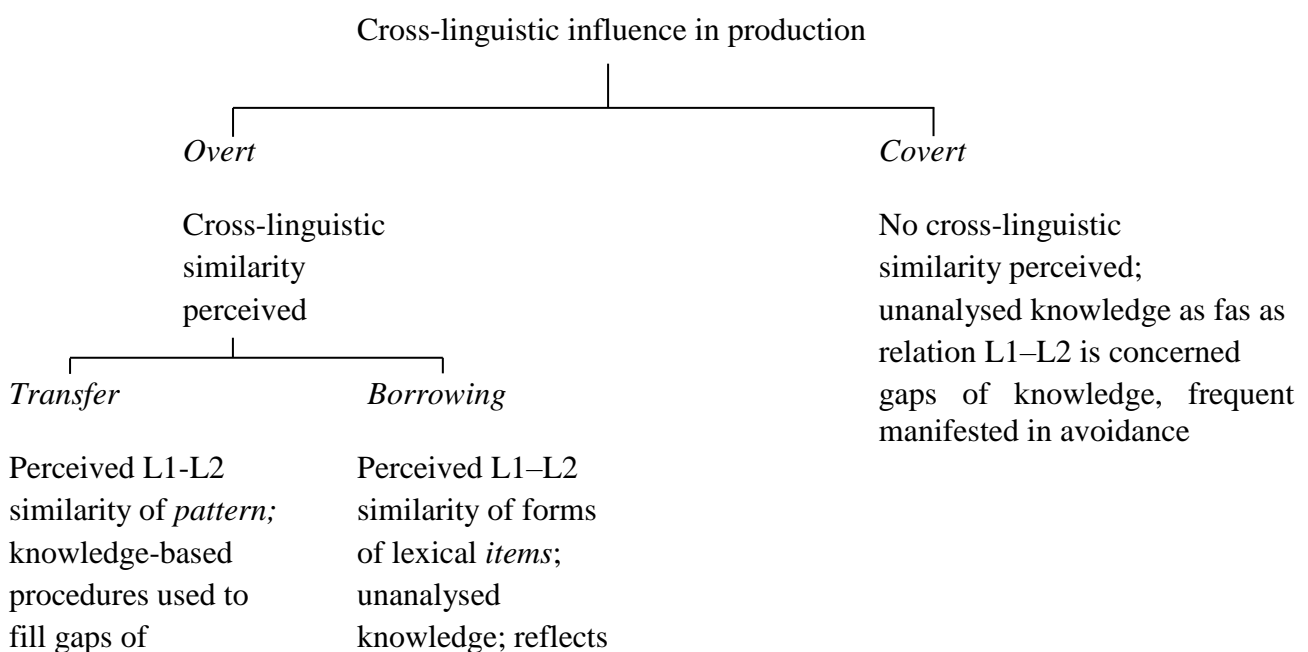
## **2.1 Defining the central concepts of language transfer**

### **2.1.1 Differences between language transfer, borrowing, and code-switching**

The term *language transfer* refers to different ways of how one language and its characteristic have an effect on the acquisition of another language (Ringbom 2007: 30), as briefly mentioned in the previous section. *Language transfer* is by its definition related to two other linguistic phenomena: *borrowing* and *code-switching*. The three concepts may appear superficially similar to each other, but it is worth pointing out that they are not interchangeable. Therefore, it is reasonable to begin the

discussion of central concepts by distinguishing between *language transfer*, *borrowing*, and *code-switching* and by considering the essential differences between these three terms.

*Borrowing* as a linguistic term is sometimes used synonymously with *transfer* and particularly so in less formal contexts (Saurio 2014: 9). Ringbom (1983, 1988) states that *borrowing* and *transfer* are closely related concepts even though they are not identical. For Ringbom, *borrowing* and *transfer* both represent a so-called *overt cross-linguistic influence* as opposed to *covert cross-linguistic influence* (1988: 50–52). In *overt cross-linguistic influence*, learners perceive similarities between their native language (L1) and the target language (L2), carrying over elements from the former to the latter. When the similarity and the transfer of L1 elements to the target language takes place on the level of individual words and affects only the lexicon, Ringbom defines the phenomenon as *borrowing*. When learners assume similarities between larger structures both in their L1 and the target language, the relation can be termed as *transfer* (ibid.). In *covert cross-linguistic influence*, there is no similarity between the two languages, and learners merely transfer elements because of “gaps” in their L2 knowledge (ibid. 51). The following figure, provided by Ringbom (1988: 50), illustrates how *borrowing*, *transfer*, *overt cross-linguistic influence*, and *covert cross-linguistic* relate to each other.



knowledge; analysed knowledge	lack of control, rather than lack of knowledge
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*Figure 1: Cross-linguistic influence in production*

In addition to distinguishing between transfer of single lexical items (*borrowing*) and larger patterns (*transfer*), Ringbom draws attention to another differences between the terms – the level of fluency that is required and the complexity of the phenomena. Ringbom states that *borrowing* is a rather mechanical process, whereas *transfer* is a more complex phenomenon requiring greater command of the target language (1983: 207). According to Ringbom, *borrowing* can occur in principle from any language to another even if the learner has very rudimentary language skills in the target language (ibid). *Transfer*, however, depends on the learner having “a threshold level of fluency” in the target language and an ability to form analogies between the two languages that go beyond individual lexical items (ibid). In *transfer* learners rely on their knowledge as they analyse patterns and try to establish connections between their L1 and the target language. Ringbom argues that transferring elements from one’s native language to L2 is a way to “cope with a gap of knowledge” (1988: 52) – an analytical way to overcome the limitations of L2 command. *Borrowing* for its part is neither about analytical processes nor knowledge. In fact, Ringbom defines *borrowing* as a result of “inadequate control” that can involve a complete change of language in an unmodified form (ibid).

Ringbom’s discussion of *borrowing* and *transfer* appears to establish *transfer* as a more conscious and complex process, but the boundary between the two concepts is not always clear. Ringbom is careful to note this as well, and he states that one should not consider the two terms as excluding one another but rather as forming two ends of a continuum (ibid). The boundary between the two concepts is particularly fuzzy when it comes to transfer on the level lexical items. Ringbom states that in the case of false friends and relexifications one could speak of “intermediate forms”

that actually exists somewhere between borrowing and transfer. In this thesis instances of false friends and relexifications are considered as lexical transfer, but Ringbom's observations serve to illustrate that the terminology relating to language transfer is not always particularly explicit and theoretical concepts may overlap to an extent.

To continue with *code-switching*, Heller defines the term as “the use of more than one language in the course of a single communicative episode” (1988: 1). *Code-switching* is similar to *language transfer* in that both terms can be grouped under language contact phenomena where two languages interact with one another (ibid). What separates *code-switching* from *language transfer* is that the former is a social concept shared by members of a given community, whereas the latter concerns language acquisition on the level of the individual (ibid. 4). Also, code-switching implies that a communicator alternates between two languages in a way that does not violate grammatical constraints. Code-switching may occur even within a single sentence but in accordance with rules of grammar (Poplack 1988: 238–239). Unlike code-switching, language transfer is not about alternating between two codes but involves simultaneous use of both languages: the learner's L1 and the target language (ibid). Language transfer may likewise result in patterns which deviate from grammatical norms and violate the constraints of the target language as is often the case in *negative transfer*.

### **2.1.2 Positive transfer and negative transfer**

Having separated *language transfer* from other similar concepts, it is useful to consider the term in more detail and clarify how it is divided into more specific sub-terms. In addition to Ringbom (2007), even Odlin (1989) has discussed language transfer with a particular stress on the relation between the languages involved in the process. Odlin defines language transfer essentially as “[...] influence resulting from the similarities and differences between the target language and *any other language* that has been previously (and perhaps imperfectly) acquired” (ibid. 27, emphasis added).

Odlin's definition highlights that *transfer* refers not only to various ways of how the first language (L1) affects the acquisition of the target language (L2), but also to how even other previously learned languages can influence the learning process. Moreover, Odlin suggests that manifestations of transfer may depend on the similarities and differences between the previously learned languages and the language being acquired. The question of similarity and *language distance* is an important one and will be discussed in more detail in section 2.4.

The concepts of *positive transfer* and *negative transfer* are directly connected to Odlin's general definition of *transfer*. The term *positive transfer* refers to a situation where learners can benefit from formal and functional similarities between the target language and their L1. In positive transfer, there is a relation of similarity between the two languages, which means that learners can successfully apply rules and patterns from their L1 even to the target language (Ringbom 2007: 6). *Negative transfer* concerns an opposite kind of situation in which learners make mistakes and experience difficulties in target language use because of dissimilarities between their L1 and the language they are acquiring, that is, target language (Odlin 1989: 26). Negative transfer is sometimes used synonymously even with the term *interference*, but there are certain issues with the latter term. *Interference* does not acknowledge that learners can actually benefit from their L1 when acquiring another language. Also, negative transfer can result in underproduction or overproduction of constructions – not just in mere errors or unidiomatic construction caused by interference (Odlin 1989: 26, 36–38). The terms *positive* and *negative transfer* appear to capture best the complex nature of language transfer, which is why they are used even in this thesis.

*Positive* and *negative transfer* can be seen as interrelated concepts, but they have not received an equal amount of attention in previous literature. Research on language transfer has traditionally focused more on *negative transfer* and the analysis of errors caused by influence from the learners' L1 (Ringbom 2007: 30). According to Ringbom, it is often relatively simple to analyse deviant forms and expressions that learners' produce in the target language and find parallels for them in the

learners' L1 (ibid). However, it is considerably more difficult to identify which of the learners' "good expressions" in the target language are influenced by similarities between their L1 and the language being acquired (ibid). The difficulty of analysing positive transfer provides a partial explanation to why positive transfer has been overshadowed by negative transfer previously.

The neglect of positive transfer has been questioned by several scholars who have criticised transfer studies for being limited in their scope. Many have suggested that research should acknowledge the significance of positive transfer and consider more what learners can do with target language instead of concentrating solely on what they have not yet mastered (Hammarberg 1974: 185–192; Ringbom 1983: 211, Ringbom 2007: 32, Odlin 1989). Ringbom, in particular, criticises earlier studies for being overtly fixated on negative transfer and learners' mistakes: "Grammatical errors in production may well be the most amenable for analysis, but concentrating on them gives a one-sided picture of what type of cross-linguistic similarities there are, and how they actually are manifested" (ibid). In more recent studies on transfer the focus of the analyses has, fortunately, shifted and researchers appear to have adopted a broader perspective to effects of language transfer (Meriläinen 2010: 12–16). Following the work of Odlin (1989), positive transfer has gained more prominence in research. Language transfer is now rarely taken to be a hindrance per se or treated merely as negative interference from the learner's L1 (ibid. 12–13).

### **2.1.3 Lexical transfer and syntactic transfer**

In addition to distinguishing *positive transfer* from *negative transfer*, it appears to be a common praxis to distinguish between *lexical transfer* and *syntactic transfer*. It is indeed justifiable to differentiate between lexicon and syntax because previous research has suggested that the effects of transfer may vary in strength in these different linguistic sub-systems – even though it is controversial to what an extent and in what ways (Meriläinen 2010, 18–19).

The term of *lexical transfer* refers to manifestations of L1 influence that take place on the level of vocabulary. Jarvis and Pavlenko define lexical transfer as “the influence of word knowledge in one language on a person’s knowledge or use of words in another language” (2008: 72). Despite the compact nature of the definition given above, even lexical transfer is an intricate phenomenon that comprises several different levels. Nation (2001) argues that a learner’s knowledge of a word covers not only the meaning and grammatical properties of the word, but also how the word should be used in collocation. For Nation, a learner’s knowledge of a word consists of lexical knowledge on three different levels: word forms, word meanings, and word use (ibid). Nation’s approach to lexicon and lexical transfer is an important one as transfer can occur on all of the aforementioned levels. Transfer is not restricted to some aspects of knowing of a word, such as the form of the word. Instead, transfer should be understood as a complex linguistic phenomenon that can take many forms (Siegel 2009: 577)

The term *syntactic transfer* is considerably more ambivalent than *lexical transfer*. Defining syntactic transfer is a difficult task because scholars do not agree upon what actually constitutes syntactic knowledge (Odlin 1990, Meriläinen 2010: 111, 210). Some scholars have even questioned whether learners’ L1 can actually affect the acquisition of syntax to any significant extent (see Dulay and Burt 1973, 1974, Dulay, Burt and Krashen 1983). More recent studies have shown that the views adhered by Dulay and Burt (1973, 1974) and Dulay, Burt and Krashen (1983) are too extreme and syntactic transfer cannot be denied altogether (Odlin 1989: 85-110). Still, the controversy about syntactic transfer appears to remain.

It is worth pointing out that linguists have debated even the exact scope and boundaries of lexicon, which illustrates that lexicon and lexical transfer are not unproblematic concepts either. An important difference between lexical and syntactic transfer is, however, that there appears to be a wide consensus concerning the basic definition of lexicon and lexical transfer that syntactic transfer lacks (Meriläinen 2010: 111). Syntactic transfer has been investigated within various theoretical

frameworks and from a number of perspective, but there is no universally acknowledged model for learners' knowledge of L2 syntax (ibid). This results in certain problems in defining the term and analysing syntactic transfer.

One way of defining syntax is to view it as an area of linguistic that studies “how the words of language can be combined to make larger units, such phrases, clauses, and sentences” (Baker 2001: 265). In other words, syntax is interested in structures that go beyond the word level: it targets rules and patterns that are used to form larger structures from individual words. Baker's definition of syntax is a concise one, but it does not provide an answer to how syntax, or syntactic transfer, should be analysed or what the boundaries of syntactic knowledge are. Phase structure rules and tree diagrams, which are common ways to represent syntactic constraints, are by themselves of little use when studying syntactic transfer. Owing to a lack of a shared model, the analysis of syntax appears to depend on the researcher's subjective choice of syntactic features included in the study. One can argue that the analysis of syntactic features, and syntactic transfer, is partly a matter of the researcher's own judgement and therefore selective in its scope.

## **2.2. Overview of the history and present state of transfer research**

Language transfer is not a previously undiscovered area in second language acquisition, but its effects on language acquisition have been discussed even before. Sjöholm (1995: 27) notes that the role of learners' L1 on second language acquisition was a debated topic for a long time, which explains why language transfer has interested linguists for decades. The primary contribution of previous research has been that the influence of language transfer on second language acquisition has been acknowledged from the 1970s onwards (Meriläinen 2010: 24, Gass and Selinker 2008: 137). In order to clarify where research stands at present, it is worth discussing how the phenomenon has been studied before. The historical development can be divided into four phases:



the 1950s	the 1960s	the 1970s	the 1980s and onwards
Robert Lado's Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (CAH)	Noam Chomsky's Universal Grammar (UG)	Selinker's theory of interlanguage	A number of contemporary approaches to transfer, a more nuanced view of L1 influence

Figure 2: *The historical phases of research on language transfer* (expanded on a figure given in Kielo 2013: 6)

The origins of language transfer research are in the 1950's *Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis* (CAH) which was founded on Robert Lado's work (Jarvis and Pavlenko 2008, Gass and Selinker 1992, Ringbom 2007: 32). The spark for Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis was Lado's observation that learners take elements from their L1 and transfer them to the target language when acquiring a second language (Lado 1957: 2, quoted in Gass and Selinker 1992: 1). Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis stated that difficulties in second language acquisition are created by differences between the learners' L1 and the language being acquired (Mitchell et al 2013: 29). Proponents of CAH viewed language learning as acquisition of habits, which was either facilitated or inhibited by the learner's L1. Similarities between languages would make L2 acquisition easy, whereas different structures would cause difficulties (Mitchell et al 2013: 29, Gass et al 2013: 85–86). Ultimately, Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis claimed that “all errors would be due to interference from L1” (ibid. 36).

Contrastive Analysis had a significant effect on teaching and research which adopted a comparative perspective. Proponents of CAH argued that comparisons between L1 and L2 would enable teachers and researchers to identify areas where two languages differed from each other. Differences between the learners' L1 and the target language were taken to be primary source of errors in second language acquisition (Ringbom 2007: 32, Fries 1945: 9, cited in Dulay et al 1982: 98, Gass et al 2013: 85–86). In practice, Contrastive Analysis stated that language teaching should focus on challenging features, and its ultimate goal should be the eradication of errors. This had

lasting effects on language teaching of the time which relied heavily on translation and grammar exercises (Richard & Rodgers 1986: 14–17, 38, 44–56).

Despite its ambitious aims, Contrastive Analysis became under heavy criticism towards the late 1960s (Thomas 2009: 31). The primary flaw in CAH was its excessive focus on learner errors and their source. CAH supposed that all errors could be explained by differences between the learners' L1 and the language they were acquiring. It likewise presumed that the nature of the errors could be plausibly predicted by contrasting the two languages in question (Sharwood Smith 1993: 194). The validity of Contrastive Analysis was put into questions when a number of scholars presented findings that were in conflict with these claims (see Dusková (1984) and Zobl (1980) in Gass et al 2013: 86–88, Thomas 2013: 31). Predictions about the nature of errors did not hold: learners did not always struggle with areas they were assumed to have difficulties, and they made mistakes that were different from those predicted. Thus, it became evident that errors could not be explained solely by L1 influence as CAH had hypothesised (Odlin 1989: 17, Gass et al 2013: 86–88, Thomas 2013: 31).

In the 1960s, Chomsky's Universal Grammar replaced Contrastive Analysis as the primary theoretical framework for language transfer. Contrastive Analysis had been embedded in the behaviourist paradigm that treated language learning as acquisition of habits. Chomsky's Universal Grammar, though not a language learning theory per se, challenged the earlier behaviourist approach. According to Universal Grammar, language is governed by certain principles which are universal for all languages and innate in humans (Ellis 1997: 65, Gass et al 2013: 161). Since all languages share a number of universal principles, they cannot vary endlessly in their characteristics (Gass et al 2013: 161). In addition to universal principles there are, however, so-called parameters which have different settings in different languages (ibid 171). Language acquisition is about obtaining the right settings for the parameters in the target language, which for children acquiring their L1 occurs via natural exposure (ibid).

Universal Grammar was concerned with first language acquisition, but it was soon applied even to language transfer and second language acquisition. According to Ellis (1986: 28–29) and Meriläinen (2010: 9), Dulay and Burt (1973, 1974) were one of the first scholars who proposed a so-called L2 = L1 hypothesis founded on the principles of Universal Grammar. Proponents of L2 = L1 hypothesis stated that second language acquisition is guided by similar innate processes as L1 acquisition (Ellis 1986: 28–29, Dulay, Burt and Krashen 1982: 5). Yet L1 and L2 acquisition were argued to be separate processes, which meant that proponents of L2=L1 hypothesis largely dismissed the significance of language transfer (Ellis 1986: 28–29). According to Dulay and Burt, very few errors could, in fact, be attributed to the learners' native language (Dulay Burt and Krashen 1982: 5, Odlin 1989: 21–22). The majority of errors were argued to be so-called “developmental goofs” or developmental errors that are part of the learning process and similar to the deviant forms that children produce when acquiring their L1 (Dulay and Burt 1983, Odlin 1989: 19–20).

The adoption of Universal Grammar marked a significant shift away from behaviourism towards a view that emphasised language learning as a rule-governed, innate process. In a sense the focus had changed from one extreme to another. Nevertheless, Universal Grammar was found to be empirically lacking in the light of evidence (Meriläinen 2010: 9, Thomas 2013: 32, Ellis 1997: 52, Odlin 1989: 22–24). Findings did not support the idea of shared, universal principles which would apply similarly to both first and second language acquisition but appeared to question this claim (Meriläinen 2010: 9). Most importantly, there was no place for language transfer in Universal Grammar and L2 = L1 hypothesis even if influence from the learners' L1 was clearly present in second language acquisition (Odlin 1989: 22–24, Meriläinen 2010).

In the 1970s interest in language transfer declined considerably, and it received significantly less attention than before (Meriläinen 2010: 23). During this period the significance of L1 transfer could be described as a controversial issue in the linguistic community (Thomas 2013: 32–33). Both

Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis and Universal Grammar had failed to provide a comprehensive theoretical frameworks that would be supported by empirical research. Dulay and Burt (1973, 1974) and Dulay Burt and Krashen (1982) had criticised heavily the earlier Contrastive Analysis approach, pointing out its various shortcomings, such as excessive focus on learner errors. However, their own research was proved lacking, and the view that they represented came under ever greater criticism in the 1970s. According to Thomas, transfer studies conducted in the 1970s and early 1980s provided findings supporting the hypothesis that learners' first language *does* have an effect on second language acquisition – even if it remained unclear to what extent and in which linguistic domains. These findings contradicted the studies by Dulay and Burt (1973, 1974) and Dulay Burt and Krashen (1982) that had largely dismissed the significance of L1 transfer (Thomas 2013: 32). It appeared that the significance of L1 on L2 acquisition could not be denied altogether despite the apparent shortcomings of Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis.

Despite the diminished interest in language transfer in the 1970s, the decade saw the emergence of Larry Selinker's (1972) theory of *interlanguage*. In his approach Selinker attempted to combine elements from Contrastive Analysis and Universal Grammar that had both been proved too limited on their own (Meriläinen 2010: 10). Selinker argued that learners do not merely rely on their L1 knowledge when acquiring a second language, but they actually construct a linguistic system of their own which is different both from their L1 and the target language (Selinker 1972: 209–231). Selinker called this developing system with interacting elements from both the learner's first language and the target language *interlanguage* (Ellis 1997: 33–34).

In Selinker's approach interlanguage stands for a system of linguistic rules, or a “mental grammar”, which is constantly affected by a number of inner and outer factors. Outer influence refers to language input that learners receive, whereas omission of elements and *transfer* are taken to be results of internal processing which is part of L2 acquisition (ibid., emphasis added). The theory of interlanguage viewed transfer as a natural part of the learners' mental processing that

shapes the interlanguage. As for errors, Selinker's theory acknowledged that there are errors caused by transfer, but it noted that some of them can be regarded as "evidence of learning strategies" (ibid). In other words, interlanguage approach did not automatically dismiss errors caused by L1 transfer as the learners' inability to follow L2 norms. Instead, Selinker's theory recognised both errors and transfer as part of L2 acquisition and did not label them as negative phenomena per se. By its contribution, interlanguage helped to provide a more balanced perspective on transfer research and shifted the focus from negative transfer to the actual learning process.

The theoretical instability and fluctuation that characterised language transfer in the 1970s continued even to the 1980s as the question of L1 influence on L2 acquisition remained unresolved. However, the concept of *interlanguage* had already broadened the scope of language transfer and even research methodology had improved considerably from earlier decades. Because of these changes, transfer research became more nuanced in the 1980s. It also started regain interest in the linguistic community (Meriläinen 2010: 23). The primary theoretical shift was that language transfer came to be understood as a cognitive process. Transfer was no longer a learner habit or a "developmental goof" in second language acquisition but an active mental process that learners used to resolve difficulties they encountered in L2 acquisition and communication (ibid 12).

The change of paradigm resulted in a more multifaceted perspective. It was understood that language transfer from L1 to L2 did not always manifest itself as mere errors that were caused by differences between L1 and L2 (ibid 13). Studies suggested stated that in addition to errors, language transfer could cause avoidance of certain words or constructions (see Schacter 1974, 1983), overuse of some patterns and affect how well different elements in language were acquired or interpreted by language learners (Odlin 1989: 36–41). Also, positive transfer gained more attention in transfer research which had earlier focused primarily on negative transfer. Odlin (1989), in particular, drew attention to positive transfer and argued for the acknowledgement of positive effects that learners' L1 can have on the target language (26, 36).

What is more, the focus in research changed from explicit surface structures to underlying, implicit processes in the 1980s. Thomas notes that the so-called the generative theory to language transfer began to gain popularity in the 1980s (2013: 33). The generativists argued that transfer from L1 to the target language was not caused by surface structures in the learner's L1 as many earlier approaches had assumed. With surface structures they referred to words, sounds, and syntactic construction in the L1. Instead of surface structure, the adherents of the theory argued that transfer was a result of the learner's *knowledge* of these features in their L1 (ibid. 34, emphasis added).

The generativist perspective was based on Chomsky's (1981) theory of Government and Binding which was a modification of earlier Universal Grammar. As in earlier Universal Grammar, Chomsky's theory was founded on the idea of universal principles that govern all languages and a set of specific parameter settings that vary from language to language (ibid 33). However, in Government and Binding language-specific parameter settings were also argued to give rise to a number surface level forms (words, sounds, syntactic constraints), which explain practical differences between languages and transfer (ibid). In essence the generativists claimed that universal principles and parameter setting form a basis for language acquisition which then in turn "mediate apparent L1 transfer effects" (Thomas 2013: 34, ).

Following the generativist approach, research continued to focus on language transfer on the level of implicit grammatical knowledge (Thomas 2013: 34–35). Two particularly influential, contemporary theories to language transfer emerged in the 1990s: Full-Transfer/Full-Access Hypothesis by Schwartz (1993) and Schwartz and Sprouse (1996) and a Minimal Tree Hypothesis by Vainikka and Young-Scholten (1996a) (ibid). Full-Transfer/Full-Access Hypothesis argued that learners' innate, implicit knowledge of L1 grammar forms the basis even for the acquisition of L2 grammar (ibid. 34). Learners were argued to have "full access" to all of their L1 knowledge when they are learning a second language. In practice, this meant that in the acquisition process learners

could perceive differences between their L1 and L2. By using their knowledge of L1 grammar, learners could gradually finetune their parameters to match the norms of the L2 (ibid). Full-Transfer/Full-Access Hypothesis thus stressed the importance of the innate language faculty, giving a less significant role for L1 transfer (Saurio 2014: 7).

Vainikka and Young-Scholten's Minimal Tree Hypothesis (1996a) can be described as a counterreaction to the Full-Transfer/Full-Access Hypothesis. Minimal Tree Hypothesis challenged the view that learners would be able to contrast their L1 knowledge with L2 and simply change their ways when encountering features in the L2 that were different from their L1 (Thomas 2013: 34–35). Minimal Tree Hypothesis, which based its claims on self-taught learners of German, stated that learners transfer lexical categories from their L1 to the L2 when they are at the beginning of their second language acquisition. Transfer does not, however, apply to L1 grammar (ibid). Vainikka and Young-Scholten proposed that learners' knowledge of L2 grammar develops without influence from L1 grammar. As Thomas puts it, Minimal Tree Hypothesis stated "the L2 grammar is devoid of all functional categories" (ibid.).

The opposing views presented by Full-Transfer/Full-Access Hypothesis and Minimal Tree Hypothesis illustrate the divide that had begun already in the 1980s. Studies conducted in the 1980s and the 1990s had given evidence for both universal principles that guide language acquisition and language transfer from the learners' L1 to the target language (Foley and Flynn 2013, 105). Both factors appear to have an effect on second language acquisition, and the debate about the extent of L1 influence on the target language continues still. Language should therefore be recognised as a complicated phenomenon which requires a more nuanced research perspective: innate principles and language transfer do not necessarily each other but appear to influence language acquisition.

In most recent studies, the attention has shifted to how the learners' L1 can affect the how L2 concepts are acquired (see Jarvis and Pavlenko 2008 and Meriläinen 2010). More attention has likewise been given to how language transfer is manifested in different linguistic subsystems and to

different learner variables, such as the learners' age or their level of command in L2, which may interact with transfer (Foley and Flynn 2013: 107–113).

All in all, language transfer is an area worth studying even though it has an extensive history. Language transfer has been investigated considerably, but it appears that the complexity of the phenomenon has only recently started to be acknowledged. Thus, there appears to be a need for further studies and contemporary research, which supports the relevance of this thesis.

### **2.3. Transfer research in the Finnish context**

According to a number of sources, Finland is an optimal environment for research on language transfer (Meriläinen 2010: 42–43, Ringbom 1976: 1, Ringbom 2007: 41–53, Jarvis 2000). Because of the country's bilingual status where Finnish and Swedish are both used as official languages by different groups of speakers, Finland is in many ways an ideal working ground for research on transfer (Ringbom 2007: 41). As languages Finnish and Swedish are rather distinct, and there are few cross-linguistic similarities between them. Finnish belongs to a group of Fenno-Ugric languages that is in no way connected to the Indo-European language family, while Swedish represents the Germanic branch of Indo-European languages alongside languages such as English and German (Meriläinen 2010: 34, Ringbom 2007: 37). The linguistic unrelatedness between Finnish and Swedish serves as a good starting point for studies because it enables researchers to compare speakers of two distinct languages who share a similar cultural and educational backgrounds (Meriläinen 2010: 33–34, Ringbom 2007: 34). Bearing this in mind, it is not striking that Finnish learners of English have been studied in various contexts.

Both Ringbom (2007, 41–53) and Meriläinen (2010, 33–38) have provided overviews of transfer research in Finland over several decades. The general observation is that Finnish research has changed largely in accordance with overall trends of the field: studies have mostly followed the changing paradigms in second language acquisition and language transfer (Meriläinen 2010: 33–



40). Contrastive analysis and error analysis have gradually made way to a broader range of theoretical approaches and a more varied set of target groups (*ibid*). Ringbom notes that Finnish learners of English and language transfer have been studied in various formal settings and institutions such as primary schools (see Sundqvist 1986, Ekholm 1987), comprehensive schools (see Ohls-Ahlskog 1995, Tuokko 2000), vocational institutes (see Lehtonen 1979, Granfors and Palmberg 1976), Matriculation Examinations (see Ringbom 1992, Meriläinen 2008, 2010) and universities (see Sjöholm 1979, Pålsson 1999, Engberg 1993) (2007: 41–53). More recent research has expanded even on more informal domains, such as online communities for publishing English fan fiction texts (see Saurio 2014).

One of the characteristics of Finnish transfer research has been the abundance of comparative studies on Finnish- and Swedish-speaking learners. The majority of studies indicate that speakers of Swedish have an advantage in acquiring English in comparison to Finnish-speakers. Ringbom (1987) cites a number of studies and notes that Swedish-speaking learners generally exceed speakers of Finnish. Swedish-speakers have a better command of English in nearly all areas of language competence, ranging from vocabulary to grammar and pronunciation. According to Ringbom, Swedish-speakers' superiority can be explained by structural and formal similarities between Swedish and English which facilitate L2 acquisition. As the language distance between Finnish and English is significantly greater than the distance between Swedish and English, Finnish-speaking learners are not able to benefit from the relatedness between their L1 and English as speakers of Swedish do (*ibid*). Formal evaluations highlight the asset of having L1 that is similar to the target language. Speakers of Finnish usually begin their English studies two years earlier than Swedish-speakers, but they still tend to achieve lower scores in tests measuring their command of English (Ringbom 1987, Ringbom 2007, Meriläinen 2010: 61, Härmälä et al. 2014: 170). Spelling appears to be the only area where Finnish-speakers surpass Swedish-speakers (Ringbom 1987: 90–91).

In addition, Finnish learners are claimed to have particular problems with several features of English. Finns are argued to struggle with areas such as prepositions (Sjöholm 1989: 103–113), articles (Ringbom 1987: 93–94), and listening comprehension (Ringbom 1987: 80–89). Listening comprehension, in particular, appears to pose a range of problems for Finnish-speakers. According to Ringbom, learners who have Finnish as their L1 do not always perceive English word boundaries owing to different stress patterns in Finnish and English (1987: 88). This is argued to have a considerable negative effect on Finnish-speakers' listening comprehension: problems with word boundaries affect not only the understanding of individual words, but even the comprehension of larger context. (Ringbom 1987: 87–88).

To put it frankly, previous research appears to imply that speakers of Finnish have a somewhat limited command of English as their L2 acquisition is hindered by negative transfer. However, many of the earlier studies are outdated, and their applicability to current learners is questionable. The role of English has become more intensive in the Finnish society over the years, meaning that students encounter English in numerous contexts even outside of the classroom. The more integral role of English appears to influence learners' language proficiency. Ringbom (2007) compared national test results from different decades where 15-year-olds were tested on their level of English in reading and listening comprehension, reacting skills, grammar, and composition writing. According to him, there is a diachronic improvement in the results measuring students' language skills (*ibid* 42). Ringbom proposes that “the general internationalisation of Finland, together with the popularity of English in youth culture, the Internet and other readily available activities outside class, as well as the modernisation of English teaching in the schools are important reasons for this improvement” (*ibid*).

Takala (1998) has presented similar arguments about the more integral role of English in Finland. Takala reports a steady rise in Finnish primary school and upper secondary school students' English skills from the 1970s and the 1990s. Takala links this positive trend to the increased

popularity of English as a school subject and the fact that the use of English has become more common (Takala 1998: 88, Takala 2004: 270, 274–275). English has become more present in students' daily lives, which appears to affect learning results (Takala 1988: 88). In more recent tests on learners' command of English, Finnish students have, in fact, achieved relatively good results. An evaluation of pupils' English skills at the end of primary school showed that learners had achieved well the national learning goals (Härmälä et al. 2014: 186–190). Finnish learners' command of English appears to be markedly better today than in 1970s and the 1980s.

In addition to the status of English in Finland, it is worth considering that even language pedagogy has been reformed. Ringbom (2007) points out that the so-called grammar-translation method popular in the 1970s and the 1980s has been replaced by other teaching methods that stress the communicative aspects of language learning. Developments in English teaching, and a more established status of foreign languages as school subjects, have been put forward as explaining factors for Finnish students' improved English skills between 1970s to the 1990s (Takala 1998: 88, Takala 2004: 270, 274–275). Language teaching has adopted more “modern approaches” regarding its goals, methods, and materials, which arguably facilitates learning (Takala 1998: 88, Takala 2004: 275).

In a word, changes in teaching and the status of English in Finland have affected students' command of English considerably. Language teaching develops constantly, and English is today more present in the Finnish society than in the previous decades. Thus, contemporary studies on second language acquisition and language transfer are needed.

## **2.4. Factors bearing on transfer**

Language transfer as a linguistic phenomenon does not exist in a continuum, but it interacts with a range of factors. *Language distance* between the learners' L1 and the target language and the learners' *language proficiency* in the target language are both important factors affecting transfer.

In the context of this thesis, it is similarly relevant to discuss formal language teaching and dedicate attention even to bilingualism that may affect language transfer.

To begin with *linguistic distance* or *language distance*, several earlier scholars have suggested that the distance between the learners' L1 and the target language has a considerable effect on both the scope and realisations of language (Sjöholm 1995, Jarvis 2000). The distance between different languages varies based on how similar or dissimilar they are to each other, which consequently affects the acquisition of a L2 or L3. Sjöholm (1995) studied language transfer and its effects on the acquisition of English phrasal verbs by comparing Finnish- and Swedish-speaking learners of English in Finland. Sjöholm's results indicated that speakers of Swedish, whose L1 is in many ways similar to English, could benefit from the proximity between Swedish and English (1995: 210–215). In Sjöholm's study, speakers of Swedish did fewer grammatical errors with English phrasal verbs than their Finnish-speakers (ibid. 212, 215). Swedish-speakers also appeared to use English phrasal verbs more idiomatically, which Sjöholm links to structural similarities between Swedish and English (ibid 214-215). While phrasal verbs exist both in Swedish and English, they do not occur in Finnish. Speakers of Swedish appear superior to the speakers of Finnish in areas where there are "overt similarities" between Swedish and English (ibid 215).

Similar results have been presented by Ringbom (1987, 2007) who has likewise contrasted speakers of Finnish and Swedish in Finland. According to him, a similarity relation between the learners' L1 and the target language facilitates L2 acquisition considerably (2007: 52–53). Speakers of Swedish appear to have an advantage over speakers of Finnish in a number of areas ranging from phonology to grammar. Ringbom argues that the primary difference between the two language groups is the presence/absence of positive transfer. Swedish-speaking learners can benefit from the close relation between their L1 and the target language, while there are few similarities between Finnish and English and consequently less positive transfer (ibid).

The results presented by Ringbom and Sjöholm suggest that a considerable linguistic distance between the learners' L1 and the target language is likely to cause negative transfer in L2 acquisition. However, the relationship between linguistic distance and language transfer is not as simple as that. Jarvis refers to a so-called *transfer to nowhere* principle, the essence of which is that transfer can be caused by both *similarity* and *difference* (2000a: 247–248, emphasis added). The essence of the principles is that even a considerable language distance does not automatically lead to frequent language transfer – even if this would appear logical. Jarvis points out that previous studies have both supported and challenged the notion that language transfer increases in tandem with language distance. At present it is understood that language transfer can be caused not only by differences between the L1 and the target language, but also by similarities between the languages (ibid).

In addition to linguistic distance, *language proficiency* has been identified as a significant factor affecting language transfer (Jarvis 2000a: 246–247). Language proficiency refers to the level of command that learners have in the target language. It would be logical to suggest that language transfer diminishes in accordance with the learners' developing language skills. In the case of Finnish- and Swedish-speaking learners of English, for example, it has been argued that negative transfer declines as the learners' language proficiency increases. Some of the earlier studies have indicated that differences between Finnish- and Swedish-speaking learners of English ultimately disappear when learners reach an advanced level of proficiency (Ringbom 2007: 51–52). This would mean that language transfer is more significant on the initial levels of second language acquisition but diminishes as learners become more and more proficient language users.

Despite the studies listed in Ringbom (2007), the relation between language proficiency and language transfer is not as straightforward one. Jarvis has pointed out that previous research has provided incompatible and conflicting results about the connection between language proficiency and manifestations of language transfer (2000a: 246–247). Jarvis observes that while a large of

number studies indeed suggest that L1 transfer decreases when learners acquire a better command of English (see Taylor 1975, Lalleman and Muysken 1981, Sjöholm 1995, Ringbom 2007, Odlin and Jarvis 2007), there is likewise a bulk of evidence demonstrating exactly the opposite (see Hyldenstam 1984, Klein 1986, Klein and Perdue 1993) (*ibid.*). There is no wide consensus on how language proficiency affects language transfer, which may be due to lacking and inconsistent methodology (Jarvis 2000a: 248–249).

Another important area of consideration is how much formal teaching influences language proficiency. The significance of formal L2 teaching has been a debated topic in second language acquisition as Doughty (2003) illustrates. Doughty cites a number of studies which question heavily the usefulness of formal teaching and its contribution to L2 acquisition. Doughty refers to studies by Felix (1981) and Krashen (1985) that give a dire picture of formal language teaching: formal instruction serves even at its best as a useful input, and the teachers' possibilities to enhance language acquisition are few (Doughty 2013: 257). Schwartz and Sprouse (1996) have put forward similar arguments, stating that second language acquisition is ultimately guided by innate processes – there is neither place nor real need for intervening instruction (*ibid.*).

The studies cited above do not give much support for formal teaching, but they all represent, in one form or another, the Universal Grammar approach. In this approach, universal principles of language are regarded as the primary source of any language acquisition and the role of formal instruction is downplayed (Doughty 2013: 257). Universal Grammar provides merely one approach, and there is evidence showing that formal instruction is far from insignificant in L2 acquisition. Nation, for instance, has argued that formal teaching can alert students to differences and similarities between their L1 and the target language, which assists them greatly in their L2 acquisition (Nation 1990: 37 in Ringbom 2007: 105). Similarly, Ringbom has pointed out that formal teaching helps students to adopt suitable learning strategies at different stages of their L2 acquisition (Ringbom 2007: 104–107). Formal teaching guides and support students in their

language learning, showing even in test results. For example, Finnish primary school pupils' level of English improved considerably between the 1970s and 1990s. The results can be explained at least partially with improvements in language teaching (Takala 2004: 270–275), which highlights the significance of formal teaching in language acquisition.

In relation to factors interacting with language transfer, it is important to note the effects of bilingualism. Bilingual speakers have certain advantages over monolingual speakers in acquiring languages. Ringbom (2007) has given an overview of studies on bilingual and monolingual language learners in Finland. The general trend in studies is that bilingualism facilitates L3 learning: bilingual individuals are more sensitive to language and its structures as they have “a greater metalinguistic awareness” (Ringbom 2007: 95). Bilingual learners have access to two systems of communication, which means that they have a wider range of communication means at their disposal (ibid. 95). Bilingualism may benefit learners also in the form better learning strategies that support foreign language acquisition (ibid. 96).

Positive effects of bilingualism are likely to affect language transfer, which is why it needs to be considered as a variable. – particularly when comparing Finnish- and Swedish-speaking learners. Finnish and Swedish both have a similar official status in Finland, but Finnish is clearly the dominant majority language while Swedish is spoken by a smaller minority (Ringbom 2007: 34). Owing to Swedish-speakers' position as members of a minority, bilingualism in Finnish and Swedish is more common amongst them (ibid. 34–35). Bilingualism may explain differences between Finnish- and Swedish-speaking learners (ibid. 95–96) as studies have often demonstrated the superiority of Swedish-speaking learners.

Finally, language transfer may interact with variables that are connected with personal qualities of the participants. Factors such as the respondents' sociocultural and educational background may affect transfer (Jarvis 2000: 260–261). The same can be said about motivation, age, aptitude to language learning, language background, and even personality (ibid.). When it

comes to Finnish- and Swedish-speaking learners of English in Finland, the situation regarding sociocultural and educational background is ideal. Speakers of Finnish and Swedish are roughly similar to each other in terms of education, social background and even culture (Ringbom 1987: 2). Apart from age, the other factors listed by Jarvis are more difficult to control, but they are likewise worth noting as influencing variables.

### **3 Material and methods**

#### **3.1. Aims and research questions**

As mentioned in the introduction, this thesis investigates lexical and syntactic transfer in English compositions written by Finnish first-year upper secondary school students. The analysis is conducted using 72 student compositions: 53 by Finnish-speaking students and 19 by Swedish-speaking students. The manifestations of language transfer are investigated comparatively as the compositions written by two language groups are contrasted with each other. The main focus is on Finnish-speaking students' compositions, but some comments are given about Swedish-speaking students' compositions as well. The thesis attempts to answer three research questions:

1. In what ways does Finnish influence first-year upper secondary school students' writing in English on the levels of lexicon (word forms, word meanings, and word use) and syntax (passive constructions, expletive pronoun constructions, subordinate clause patterns, future time, and prepositional constructions)? Are there particular areas of lexicon and/or syntax where the effects of transfer are most visible?
2. How do the results of the analysis compare to earlier research (particularly to those presented in Meriläinen 2010)? Are there differences between compositions written by first-year students and students at the end of their upper secondary school studies?



3. How are the English compositions written by first-year Finnish- and Swedish-speaking students different from each other? Are there systematic differences between the two groups concerning lexical and syntactic transfer?

First and foremost, the thesis analyses how the students' native language influences their English writing. The goal is to examine which lexical and syntactic features are most commonly affected by transfer and to study how the effects of transfer are visible in student compositions. The lexical analysis focuses on nine categories: substitutions, relexifications, orthographic transfer, phonetic transfer, morphological transfer, loan translations, semantic extensions, collocations, and functional transfer. The categories represent three levels of lexical knowledge: word forms, word meanings, and word use. The classification of lexical transfer into three levels follows the model presented by Nation (2000). Its further division into nine individual categories has been introduced by Meriläinen (2010). The extended model is discussed in section 3.3.

When it comes to syntactic transfer, the analysis focuses on five features that have been identified as potentially problematic for Finnish learners (Meriläinen 2010, Saurio 2014). The features are passive constructions, expletive pronoun constructions, subordinate clause patterns, future time, and prepositional constructions. The choice of these features is further justified by other studies which indicate that various aspects of grammar, particularly prepositions (Ringbom 1987: 92-109, 2007: 67-71, Jarvis and Odlin 2000, Odlin and Jarvis 2004), may be subjected to transfer in Finnish learners' L2 production. Most importantly, these features are expressed differently in English and Finnish, and hence it is possible to analyse plausibly whether students' L1 affects them.

Syntactic transfer is more difficult to investigate than lexical transfer because the nature of syntactic transfer is debated. As pointed out in 2.1, linguists have not been able to agree on the definition of syntax. What comprises syntax remains unresolved. Some scholars have even questioned whether language transfer affects syntactic structures to any significant extent (Dulay, Burt and Krashen 1983). As a result of theoretical disputes, there is no a model for analysing

syntactic transfer that would be widely accepted (Meriläinen 2010: 111). This means that the analysis of syntactic features is, more or less, a matter of a compromise and hence limited in scope.

Despite the fact that syntactic transfer is a questioned area, it is justifiable to include passive constructions, expletive pronoun constructions, subordinate clause patterns, future time, and prepositional constructions in the analysis. The aforementioned five features appear to be commonly affected by negative transfer, and they have been successfully analysed in previous studies (Meriläinen 2010, Saurio 2014). Since one of my goals is to compare language transfer in first-year upper secondary school students' compositions and in compositions written by more advanced students in Meriläinen (2010), it is sensible to focus on the same features.

As for the second research question, I investigate whether transfer is more frequent or manifested differently in first-year students' compositions as opposed to older students. This is done by comparing my results to Meriläinen's (2010). In her dissertation, Meriläinen studied language transfer in the Finnish upper secondary school students' Matriculation Examination compositions in 1995, 2005, and 2005 (ibid). Meriläinen (2010) targeted Finnish learners of English who were completing their English studies on an upper secondary school level, meaning that her study serves as a suitable reference point for my results. Meriläinen's paper (2010) is also one of the few, current studies that focuses on language transfer in *writing* in the Finnish context.

As for comparisons between my results and those presented in previous research, it is worth noting that earlier studies have focused mainly on older and more advanced students. Meriläinen (2008, 2010) and Ringbom (2007) have targeted students completing their Matriculation Examinations, meaning that their subjects have been at the end of their English studies. Younger upper secondary school students have not been neglected completely as they have been studied in by Sjöholm (1989, 1995). However, the scope of these studies has been rather narrow: Sjöholm (1989) investigated preposition errors, while Sjöholm (1995) focused on the acquisition of English phrasal verbs. As there have been few studies on less advanced upper secondary school students,

my thesis fills a gap in previous research. Also, it is worth pointing out that English teaching has undergone changes in Finland over the years, and the general level of English has constantly improved (Takala 1998, Takala 2004, Ringbom 2007). It seems unlikely that the scope and manifestations of language transfer would have remained unchanged.

Thirdly, I attempt to shed light on possible differences between Finnish- and Swedish-speaking upper secondary students. The goal is to contrast Finnish- and Swedish-speaking students and to examine whether there are any deviating patterns in language transfer between the groups. Comparisons may give insights into what extent Swedish-speaking students are able to benefit from similarities between their L1 and English in contrast to the Finnish-speakers. Differences between the language groups have been discussed before by Sjöholm (1989, 1995), Meriläinen (2008, 2010) and Ringbom (1987, 2007). Studies have argued that speakers of Swedish have an advantage to Finnish-speakers in acquiring English. The focus thesis is on Finnish-speaking students, but I will provide some comparisons of Finnish- and Swedish-speaking students.

Relating to my research questions, I have four hypotheses. Firstly, I assume that students transfer elements from Finnish to English particularly on the level of word forms and word meanings. I hypothesise that students frequently misspell English words because of the differences in sound systems and orthographies. Unlike the Finnish transparent orthography, English is more opaque when it comes to individual sounds and their written representations. It appears likely that students would struggle with spelling as there are considerable differences between Finnish and English in this area. I assume that there are similar results even on the level of word meanings. English vocabulary is a vast system with its registers, connotations, and word formation processes and formally dissimilar from Finnish vocabulary. The meaning scopes between Finnish and English differ to an extent, which can cause negative transfer.

Secondly, I hypothesise that transfer is most marked with prepositions and expletive pronouns. Prepositions have been argued to be a problematic for Finnish learners of English, and I

assume that this applies even to my study. Based on my teaching experience, I suggest that expletive pronouns are similarly difficult for many learners since Finnish does not have grammatical equivalents for *there* or *it* used as dummy subjects.

Thirdly, I believe that my results are largely similar to Meriläinen's, but language transfer is more frequent in first-year students' compositions. In other words, I presume that language proficiency plays a considerable role in language transfer. Since my material features students who have just begun their English studies at upper secondary school, the manifestations of language transfer are likely to be more marked in their compositions.

The fourth and final hypothesis relates to differences between Finnish- and Swedish-speakers. I speculate that compositions written by Swedish-speakers are more target-like because of similarities between Swedish and English. I assume that speakers of Swedish benefit from the closeness between their L1 and English, and there is consequently less negative transfer in their compositions.

### **3.2. Material**

The material consists of student compositions in English written by three groups of upper secondary school students, all in their first year of their study. The collection of material comprised 53 compositions by Finnish-speaking students and a smaller comparative collection of 19 compositions written by Swedish-speaking students. The compositions were between 150 and 250 words which is the typical length for compositions in the Finnish Matriculation examination.

The compositions used in the analysis were collected in three different upper secondary schools during winter and spring 2016. The upper secondary schools that contributed to my study were Sammon keskuskoulu, Kaurialan lukio, and Vasa Övningskola. The first two schools were Finnish-speaking, while the third one was Swedish-speaking. All three schools named one teaching group that was willing to participate in my study by providing student compositions. In other words,

the material consists of three different sets of data gathered at three different schools. The respective sizes of the groups are given below.

<b>Name and location of the school</b>	<b>Number of student compositions collected</b>	<b>Primary language used in teaching</b>
Sammon keskuslukio (Tampere)	18	Finnish
Kaurialan lukio (Hämeenlinna)	39	Finnish
Vasa Övningsskola (Vaasa)	20	Swedish

*Table 1: Distribution of student compositions*

I started collecting data during winter 2016 and finished it by spring 2016. I emailed a number of English teachers in Finnish- and Swedish-speaking upper secondary schools in different parts of the country and introduced myself and the aims of my study. I inquired if the teachers had teaching groups consisting of first-year upper students and whether it would be possible to assign the students with a composition task and then use their texts in my thesis. The writing task devised for the students was similar to the English composition writing that the students are obliged to do as part of their Matriculation Exam.

In practice, I gave students ten composition topics from which to choose and instructed them to write a text about a topic of their choice in English. The appropriate length for the composition was 150–250 words. Composition topics were selected from a number of Finnish upper secondary school text books that belonged to a book series *Smart Moves*. The topics varied in their subject matter and featured different themes such as sports, hobbies, dating, school, and reality TV. Students wrote their compositions by hand on separate sheets of paper without any assisting tools such as dictionaries, computers or mobile phones. The purpose of this procedure was to simulate the conditions at the Matriculation Exam and to maximize potential effects of language transfer. All topics with their instructions are given below:

### **1 Competitive sports and studies – an impossible combination?**

## **2 If there were 25 hours in a day...**

How would you spend the extra hour if our days were suddenly 25 hours long?

## **3 My hobby – my passion for life**

Music, computer gaming, sport... What does the trick for you?

## **4 The appeal of reality shows**

What reality shows have you watched (Top Model, Big Brother, American Idol, Amazing Race...)? What makes them so popular?

## **5 My Paradise**

Describe a place that you've visited that was so wonderful it reminded you of Paradise, or if you haven't found such a place on earth yet, tell us what it would be like if it existed.

## **6 My dream career**

## **7 A new curriculum**

What subjects should be included in your curriculum and why?

## **8 Golden rules: dating**

## **9 Crammin' it**

How do you prepare for a big test? What is your advice to other students? How can you do well in a test?

## **10 Finnish school – backstage pass**

Finnish schools have been rated the best in the world. Now is your chance to reveal the secrets of their success. What is your school really like?

In addition to the compositions, participating students filled a short, anonymous questionnaire that was returned together with the composition. The compositions and the questionnaires were coded so that all of the texts could be matched with the questionnaire forms. The schools were distinguished from each other using abbreviations KAULU for Kaurialan lukio, VÖS for Vasa övningsskola, and SAMKE for Sammon keskuskukio. The compositions and questionnaires were marked with the abbreviations and numbered in the order they were received, resulting in markings such as SAMKE10, VÖS14, and KAULU3.

The purpose of the questionnaires was to receive information about students' background such as their L1, gender, earlier English studies, and place of domicile. Collection of background information was crucial because factors such as the length of students' English studies could have

affected the results. For example, should the data have featured a group who had started their English studies later than others, this imbalance might have affected the results. One should also bear in mind that Finnish and Swedish schools do not feature a mass of students who automatically share the same native language. Instead, it is likely that some of the students speak languages other than Finnish or Swedish as their L1. Compositions written by speakers of other than Finnish or Swedish would have to be excluded. The questionnaires used in data gathering are in the Appendices section (Appendix 1: Questionnaire form for Finnish-speaking students, Appendix 2: Questionnaire form for Swedish-speaking students).

It must be noted that data gathering did not occur without problems, and the material has its flaws. Finding schools with suitable student groups was more difficult than expected. My composition task had to be fitted into the students' course schedules, which proved challenging. As a result, I had to contact a great number of teachers before finding three suitable groups. In an ideal case, I would have chosen several groups of students from different parts of the country representing both rural and urban regions. The three groups of students all came from schools situated in relatively large Finnish towns: Hämeenlinna, Vaasa, and Tampere. Thus, all of them lived in somewhat urban parts of Finland, which limits the possibilities to generalise my results to larger population.

What is more, the three groups varied greatly in size. There were 39 students in the largest groups and only 18 in the smallest. Because of differences in group sizes, Finnish-speaking students from Kaurialan lukio are overrepresented in the material, which needs to be considered.

### **3.3 Methods**

Methodologically, there are two main ways of analysing language transfer (Meriläinen 2010: 16, Jarvis 2000a: 250–252). The first approach is to compare the learners' native language with the target language and the forms they produce in the target language. The second alternative is to study

language transfer by contrasting two learner groups who share a similar socio-educational background but have different native languages. In this thesis, I attempt to combine these two approaches.

This thesis investigates language transfer in Finnish first-year upper secondary school students' English compositions focusing on nine lexical features and five syntactic features. Manifestations of language transfer are studied by comparing the students' written English to the norms of standard of English and to the characteristics of their L1. In addition to comparisons between the students' L1 and English, the nine lexical and five syntactic features are investigated by contrasting compositions written by Finnish- and Swedish-speaking students. The thesis features 54 student compositions by speakers of Finnish which is compared to 20 compositions written by Swedish-speaking students in Finland.

The thesis follows the methodological framework set by Jarvis (2000a) for identifying language transfer, and it uses Nation's (2000) model for analysing lexical transfer on three levels. As its main practical reference point, the thesis relies on Meriläinen (2010) and has adopted a similar, extended model for categorising lexical transfer. Language transfer is analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively. Manifestations of language transfer are identified manually in student compositions, analysed with the help of grammars in English and Finnish, and divided into different categories after the qualitative analysis. The qualitative analysis is supported with quantitative figures and tables, and the results are contrasted with Meriläinen's (2010) results.

In order to study language transfer, it is crucial to distinguish L1-influenced forms and structures from those that are connected with more general processes of language acquisition. I have chosen to do this using the methodological framework presented in Jarvis (2000a). Jarvis argues that linguists should consider three variables when analysing language transfer:

1. *intra-L1-group-homogeneity* (a group of L1 speakers should behave similarly regarding a particular feature in the target language)



2. *inter-L1-group-heterogeneity* (speaker groups with different L1s should differ from each other in their target language usage)
3. *intra-L1-group congruity* (the way speaker groups use particular features in the target language is similar to how these features are used in their L1)

Jarvis notes that in principle any of the three variables is enough to identify cases of language transfer. However, each of the three criteria can occur separately from others and in ways which are not connected with the effects of transfer (ibid 255). For instance, a group of speakers sharing the same L1 can produce similar forms in the target language, but this should not be taken to mean that their manifestations are caused by L1 influence. Other factors, such as “acquisitional universals”, may interact with the process even if it would appear that a group of learners produce similar forms in the target language because of their common L1 (ibid 256). Because of these intervening factors, Jarvis suggests that a plausible identification of transfer should be made using several criteria. Ideally, at least two of the aforementioned conditions should be met for findings to be convincing (ibid).

The value of Jarvis’ model is that it addresses the problemacy of categorising transfer. Not everything that deviates from the norms of the target language is caused by L1. For example, learners of English can produce forms that do not match the target language, but this does not necessarily mean that the errors would be caused by negative transfer. In an ideal case, all three criteria would be met: deviating features should be similar within a language group, groups with different L1s should differ in their use of the features, and the non-target-like forms should in some way correspond to the way they are used in the learner’s L1.

Nevertheless, the three conditions are ideal and not always met. Jarvis states that it is unrealistic that all three conditions would always be fulfilled as there are a number of factors that can “obscure L1 effects” (ibid 255). Still, his methodological framework is a useful one as it draws attention to the importance of considering several factors in the identification of language transfer.

One should be wary of what counts as transfer and not rely merely on one type of evidence. This certainly applies to my material as well. .

In addition to Jarvis' (2000a) guidelines , this thesis falls back on Nation's (2000) work on acquiring L2 lexicon. Nation argues that learners' knowledge of a target-language vocabulary is not limited on mere word forms but encompasses three different levels: *word forms*, *word meanings*, and *word use* (2000: 26). Nation's three levels of lexical knowledge illustrate that knowing a word in L2 includes much more than knowing the written form of the word. What is more, lexical transfer can occur independently on all three levels, which stresses the importance of having a broader view of learner lexicon.

Meriläinen (2010) has provided an expanded version of Nation's (2000) model. Meriläinen divided lexical transfer into nine different subcategories that correspond to Nation's three sub-components of lexical knowledge. The benefit of the model is that it provides a practical list of categories for analysing lexical transfer on the levels of word forms, word meanings, and word uses. In this thesis, Meriläinen's (2010) classification system is used to label instances of lexical transfer found in compositions. The model is given below. Individual categories are discussed in the next section.

Word knowledge	Transfer categories
Word form	1. substitutions 2. relexifications 3. orthographic transfer 4. phonetic transfer 5. morphological transfer
Word meaning	6. loan translations 7. semantic extensions
Word use	8. collocations 9. functional transfer

*Table 2: Classification of lexical transfer*

### 3.4 Manifestations of lexical transfer featured in the analysis

#### 3.4.1 Substitutions

Substitutions refer to instances of transfer where the learner has substituted an English word directly with a Finnish one. Substitutions between Finnish and English are argued to be rare as the two languages differ to an extent in their lexicons and word formation techniques (Ringbom 1987: Meriläinen 2010: 70). Finnish and English lexicons are distinct from each other, which is presumably one of the reasons why substitutions have been rarely found in Finnish-speakers' texts (Meriläinen 2010: 70). Example 1 illustrates a substitution found in my material.

- (1) My mom is working at the x-ray so there comes the idea to be *radiologi*. (pro *radiologist*, cf. Fi. *radiologi*).

Substitutions are perhaps infrequent in Finnish-speakers' compositions, but they may occur more commonly amongst Swedish-speakers. The reason for this is the language distance between Swedish and English. In addition to some words existing in both languages as cognate words, Swedish includes many words that resemble their English counterparts. This might result in substitutions as in example below.

- (2) But nothing is more *paradis* than the sandy beaches, that was almost white and the clear water. (pro *paradise*, cf. Swe. *paradis*)

### 3.4.2 Relexifications

Relexifications are manifestations of lexical transfer where the learner has substituted an English word with a Finnish one but with some modification on the word form. In other words, the Finnish word is made to resemble the conventions of English spelling even if the word itself does not match the target language (Ringbom 2007: 82). Relexifications occurred rarely in Meriläinen's data although some examples were found:

- (3) If has man do bad things he has also do good things for example *katalysator* for the car. (pro *catalyst*, *catalyzer*, cf. Fi. *katalysaattori*) (Meriläinen 2010: 85)

### 3.4.3 Orthographic transfer

In cases of orthographic transfer, Finnish writing conventions influence the learners' English. Finnish-speakers may, for instance, leave out capital letters in certain English words and form compound words following the conventions used in Finnish.

- (4) [...] last year my team brought home junior *finnish* championships (pro *Finnish*, cf. Fi. *suomalainen*)

In Finnish, compound words are normally written without any spaces between different parts of the compound (Hakulinen et al. 2004). This marks a difference between English and Finnish, which can result in orthographic transfer where learners leave out spaces in English compound words. Learners can similarly create complex compounds consisting of three parts, caused by negative transfer from Finnish to English:

- (5) I had *basketballgame* on last Saturday (pro a *basketball game*, a *game of basketball*; cf. Fi. *koripallopele*)

Another area where Finnish and English differ is the use of capital letters. While proper names are capitalised in Finnish, words that denote languages, nationalities, and days of the week are not (unless they occur at the beginning of the sentence). Not surprisingly, Meriläinen (2010) discovered that Finnish learners often omit capital letters in these cases in their English writing. I hypothesise that the first person pronoun *I* is also likely to be affected by orthographic transfer because it is not normally capitalised in Finnish.

The norms concerning the formation of compound words and the use of capital letters are largely similar in Finnish and Swedish. Compound words are normally written without spaces in Swedish and lowercase letters are preferred in the names of languages and nationalities (Språkrådet 2010: 128, 106–113). Thus, speakers of Swedish may show similar tendencies to speakers of Finnish by forming complex compounds and omitting English capital letters.

### 3.4.4 Phonetic transfer

Phonetic transfer refers to lexical transfer where the differences in sound systems affect spelling. As the speech sounds used in English and Finnish differ to an extent, Finnish learners of English may replace English consonant sounds with resembling ones found in Finnish.

(6) I also have to study *teoretical* music. (pro *theoretical music*)

(7) I would *propably* just sleep little more and do things that I love for other half of the time.  
(pro *probably*)

The Finnish sound system consists of consonant phonemes /p/, /t/, /k/, (b), /d/, (g), /m/, /n/, /f/, /s/, (ʃ), /h/, /l/, /r/, and /v/. The ones closed in brackets are mainly used in loan words and slang, and their overall status is less stable than that of other phonemes (Hakulinen et al. 2004: 38–40). Even the phoneme /d/ occurs mainly in borrowed words (ibid. 40). Owing to differences in phonology, and possible problems in distinguishing between different English sounds, Finnish learners tend to replace consonant sounds marked in brackets with other consonants (Ringbom 1987: 88–89, Meriläinen 2010: 72). Swedish-speaking students are advantageous to Finnish-speakers regarding phonology: phonemes /b/, /g/, /ʃ/, and /tʃ/ exist both in Swedish and English (Ringbom 1987: 88).

### 3.4.5 Morphological transfer

In morphological transfer, learners transfer L1 morphemes from Finnish and apply them directly to English. Meriläinen's results revealed that morphological transfer in Finnish learners' texts concerned particularly English plural and singular forms (2010: 89). Some English words which are used in the singular, such as the words *equipment*, have plural equivalents in Finnish. Uncountable English words may likewise be treated as countable nouns in Finnish as is the case with *advice* and its Finnish counterpart *neuvo*. Because of the morphological differences between English and

Finnish, speakers of Finnish may add non-standard plural endings to English nouns or use nouns as if they were countable:

- (8) As said, park riding can be very dangerous if you don't know what you're doing or you don't have the right *equipments*. (pro *equipment*, cf. Fi *välineet*, *varusteet* 'equipment-PL'<sup>2</sup>)
- (9) If there were 25 hours in a day I would give you *an advice*. (pro *a piece of advice*, cf. Fi *neuvo*)

### 3.4.6 Loan translations

Loan translations are word-to-word translations of words or idioms in the learners' L1 which are then transferred to the target language. Finnish learners of English can, for example, transfer various idiomatic expressions or Finnish compound words directly into English. The resulting constructions are unidiomatic or at worst unintelligible (Ringbom 1987: 115).

In Meriläinen's dissertation, loan translations in Finnish-speaker' compositions concerned three categories: compound words, idiomatic constructions, and idioms (2010: 90). With *compound words* Meriläinen means direct translations of Finnish compound words which are applied into English in a way that does not follow the norms of English:

- (10) In my opinion competitive sport and studies aren't so hard to combine in *basic school*... (pro *comprehensive school*, cf. Fi. *peruskoulu*, 'basic school')

*Idiomatic constructions* concern fixed, phrasal expressions in Finnish and their English equivalents. In most of Meriläinen's cases students had translated Finnish phrases part by part and then transferred them into their English writing. Idiomatic expression formed the largest category for loan translation in her material.

- (11) On the other hand sometimes I still have done homework and *read for exams* less and I can see that in my grades. (pro *study for exams*, cf. Fi. *lukea kokeisiin* 'read for exams')
- KAULU34

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<sup>2</sup> For the clarification of *PL* and other grammatical abbreviations used in this thesis, see Appendix 8.

Finally, *idioms* refer to students translating Finnish proverbs and idioms literally into English. Idioms are larger units that go beyond individual words, but they are discussed under lexical transfer because since they are “independent lexical and semantic units” (Meriläinen 2010: 91). In other words, the meaning of an idiom cannot be determined on the basis of individual words that form it (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 273). Idioms were the least frequent category in Meriläinen (2010):

- (12) Biggest win in my “career” was few years ago when we won or *loss silver medals* in floorball. (pro *we lost the gold but won silver*, cf. Fi. *hävisimme hopeaa* ‘lose-1PL-PAST silve-PAR’) KAULU3

### 3.4.7 Semantic extensions

Semantic extension takes place when learners “take the semantic properties of an L1 word, transfers them to a previously known L2 word and uses it an extended sense” (Ringbom 1987: 116 in Meriläinen 2010). Semantic extension often concern cases where the semantic ranges of Finnish and English do not completely correspond to each other (Saurio 2014: 59). To put it franky, Finnish may use a single word for a particular context, whereas English uses several terms that convey slightly different meanings. Finnish-speakers may choose an English term that is close to the intended meaning but semantically ill-suited to the context as in the examples below:

- (13) It’s [snowboarding] so *freeing*. (pro *liberating*, cf. Fi. *vapauttava*, ‘freeing, liberating’) KAULU5
- (14) In recent years I have token part for many orienteering races, so it has *come* a bit more serious for me. (pro *become*, cf. Fi. *tulla* ‘come, become’) KAULU3

Semantic extensions were particularly frequent in Meriläinen (2010) as they amounted 19.6% of all lexical transfer in her corpus (ibid. 92). Meriläinen suggests that word meanings are an area where transfer is likely to take place even if Finnish-speaking students would otherwise be hasty to draw

similarities between English and their L1 (ibid. 93). Finnish-speakers do not always perceive the different semantic fields of English and Finnish, which can result in language transfer.

### 3.4.8 Collocations

In collocations, learners use words in the target language that are close to the intended meaning but are unidiomatic because of the collocate – the word occurring next to it. Collocations represent lexical transfer that concern *word use* as opposed to loan translations and semantic extensions that concern *word meanings*. In these cases the unidiomaticity of the expressions does not result from students not knowing the meaning of the word. Instead, collocations concern the surrounding context: where particular words typically occur and which words tend to occur next to them (Meriläinen 2010: 96).

(15) When you are *doing* the test remember to concentrate and try to use the knowledge you have as well as possible. (pro *taking the test*, cf. Fi. *tehdä koe* ‘do a test’)

### 3.4.9 Functional transfer

Functional transfer relates to function words as opposed to content words. It takes place when learners presume that grammatical words have similar functions both in their L1 and in the target language. Learners can likewise overgeneralise the use of certain grammatical words, ending up using them in contexts where they are unidiomatic or non-grammatical. Meriläinen’s study on Finnish Matriculation Examination compositions identified seven sub-categories of functional transfer (Meriläinen 2010: 97):

1. Auxiliary *olla* ‘to be’
2. Reflexive pronouns
3. Indefinite pronouns
4. Demonstrative pronouns
5. Relative pronouns
6. Conjunctions and connectors
7. Focusing particles



The first category concerns cases where students have confused the English verbs *be* and *have*. Both verbs could be translated as *olla* in Finnish, which results in unidiomatic constructions in Finnish-speakers' compositions:

- (16) After ten year it is till my dream, nothing *isn't change*. (pro *hasn't changed*, cf. Fi. *ei ole muuttunut*) KAULU13

The second category refers to instances where learners have used reflexive pronouns in inappropriate contexts – particularly the pronoun *myself*:

- (17) Every time when I feel *myself* sad or lonely I just listen good music. (pro *feel sad*, cf. Fi. *tuntea itsensä surulliseksi* 'feel REFLEXIVE PRONOUN sad') KAULU8

Also, there were examples of deviant *indefinite pronouns* and *demonstrative pronouns*. Meriläinen (2010) discovered that Finnish-speakers had used the pronouns *some* and *it* to signal indefiniteness and definiteness instead of articles *a/an* and *the* (2010: 98–99). This reflects the characteristics of Finnish: Finnish lacks an article system, but the words 'joku' and 'se' can be used to signal indefiniteness and definiteness (Hakulinen et al. 2005: 1351–1353, 1358–1359):

- (18) It would be a *some* pet (pro *a pet*, cf. Fi. *joku lemmikki* 'some pet') (from Meriläinen 2010: 98)

- (19) Later *it* real world usually looks much better (pro *the real world*, cf. Fi. *se oikea maailma* 'it real world') (ibid. 99)

The sixth category concerns relative pronouns and their Finnish equivalents. Finnish system of relative pronouns differs slightly from the one used in English: the number of different relative pronouns is greater in English (Meriläinen 2010: 99). Meriläinen discovered that students sometimes used relative pronouns in a deviant manner. The pronoun *what* was often treated as an equivalent for Finnish *mikä*, which resulted in non-standard pronoun constructions (ibid 99–100).

- (20) After a hard day in school, sport is the thing *what* takes school pressures of on my shoulders. (pro *that*, cf. Fi *mikä*) KAULU3

In addition to *be* and *have* and the use pronouns, Finnish affected the students' use of conjunctions, connectors, and focusing particles. Conjunctions and conjunctions such as *niin* 'so' and *kuin* 'than' were transferred directly from Finnish into English in student compositions in some cases:

(21) Thousands of years ago man didn't destroy nature *so much than* today (pro *as much as*, cf. Fi. *niin paljon kuin*) (from Meriläinen 2010: 102)

(22) My mum asked my friend's mum if her daughter would like to take up riding with me. *So* it all began. (pro *that's how*, cf. Fi *niin* 'so, that's how') SAMKE8

Focusing particles form the last subcategory for functional transfer. Focusing particles are words that emphasise a particular constituent in a sentence: they highlight an element in a sentence and set it apart from its "background" (Hakulinen et al. 2005: 803–804). In Meriläinen (2010) focusing particle *already* was expanded into untypical contexts because of the Finnish focusing particle *jo*:

(23) Horses and dogs have been tamed *already* in the pre-historic time (pro *as early as*, *as far back as*, cf. Fi. *jo esihistoriallisella ajalla* 'already in the pre-historic time') from Meriläinen (2010: 102).

### 3.5 Manifestations of syntactic transfer featured in the analysis

When it comes to syntax, it is worth noting that there is no commonly accepted model for syntactic transfer (see section 2.1). Scholars have not agreed on what constitutes syntax and some have been critical of whether the learners' L1 can influence syntax to any considerable degree. The distinction between lexical and syntactic transfer is likewise a controversial topic.

Nevertheless, the approach in this thesis is that it is possible to distinguish between lexical and syntactic transfer even if there is no particular model for analysing syntax. The analysis on syntactic transfer targets five features that have been used in Meriläinen (2010) and even in Saurio (2014). The features are:

1. Prepositional constructions
2. Expletive pronoun constructions
3. Subordinate clause constructions

4. Passives
5. Future time

These areas have been selected because there are clear differences between Finnish and English in the use and manifestations of them. Thus, it is possible to study to what extent prepositions, expletive pronouns, subordinate clauses, passives, and expressions of future time are affected by language transfer in Finnish-speaking students' compositions. The features are discussed below with examples from Meriläinen (2010) and my own material.

### 3.5.1 Prepositional constructions

English prepositions have been argued to be a problematic for Finnish-speakers (Sjöholm 1995, Ringbom 2009: 67–71). The difficulty of acquiring prepositions has been linked to the fact that Finnish does not have a prepositional system (Ringbom 2009: 69). Instead of prepositions, Finnish employs a rather complex case system. The system consists of 15 cases which signal particular meaning relations between words. Cases are formed by placing suitable endings to the roots of the words (Meriläinen 2010: 165, Hakulinen et al. (2005: 108, 1174–1212). Finnish cases are clarified in table 3 (from Karlsson 2008: 25–26).

Case	Endings	Function	Example
Nominative	–	basic form	auto, ‘car’
Genitive	-n, -den, -tten	possession	auton, ‘of a/the car’
Accusative	-n, -t, –	object ending	hänet, ‘him, her’
Partitive	-a, -ä, -ta, -tä	indefinite/quantity	maitoa, ‘(some) milk’
Inessive	-ssa, -ssä	inside	autossa, ‘in a/the car’
Elicative	-sta, -stä	out of	autosta. ‘out of a/the car; from a/the car’
Illative	-Vn, -hVn, -seen, siin	into	autoon ‘(in)to a/the car’, Porvooseen ‘to Porvoo’
Adessive	-lla, -llä	on; instrument	pöydällä ‘on a/the table’
Ablative	-lta, -ltä	off/from	pöydältä ‘off a/the table; from a/the table’
Allative	-lle	onto	pöydälle ‘(on)to a/the table’
Essive	-na, -nä	state	opettajana ‘as a/the teacher’
Translative	-ksi	change of state	opettajaksi ‘(become) a teacher’

Comitative	-ine	accompanying	vaimo <b>ineni</b> ‘with my wife’
Instructive	-n	( <i>idiomatic</i> )	jalan ‘on foot’

Table 3: The Finnish case system

In Meriläinen (2010), Finnish-speakers’ use of prepositions was affected by the Finnish case system. Some of the English prepositions have “close translation equivalents” in Finnish cases, which resulted in students using certain prepositions as if they corresponded directly to Finnish case system (Meriläinen 2010: 164). Unidiomatic use of prepositions concerned particularly four locative cases: *inessive* (talo**SSA**, *in* a house), *illative* (talo**OON**, (*in*)*to* a house), *elative* (talo**STA**, *from/about* a house), and *adessive* (maa**LLA**, *on* the countryside) (ibid. 165, 176–180).

- (24) You have to spend so much time *in* school... (pro *at*, cf. Fi. *koulussa* ‘school-INESSIVE’) KAULU4
- (25) After you have done all that you have arrived *to* my paradise. (pro *at*, cf. Fi. *paratiisini* ‘my paradise-ILLATIVE’) KAULU16
- (26) I always wanted to be a lawyer because I have always been interested *about* it (pro *in*, cf. Fi. *kiinnostunut siitä* ‘interested it-ELATIVE’) KAULU13
- (27) I have lived *on* countryside for all my life (pro *in*, cf. Fi. *maalla* ‘countryside-ADESSIVE’) (G, 2000, 2) (example by Meriläinen (2010: 179))

Moreover, Finnish-speaking students omitted prepositions frequently in Meriläinen (2010). This can be attributed to the fact that prepositions do not exist as a category in Finnish, which can result in negative transfer as in example 28 below:

- (28) But in the summer it is nice to be outside and *play football many hours*. (pro *play football for many hours*, cf. Fi. *pelata jalkapalloa useita tunteja* ‘play football many hours’) (SAMKE11)

### 3.5.2 Expletive pronoun constructions

Expletive pronoun constructions refer to constructions that require “a dummy subject” *it* or *there*. Unlike Finnish that does not use subjects in sentences such as *It is raining* or *It is time to go home*, English sentences always require a subject – in these cases a non-referential, dummy subject *it*

(Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 238). Similarly, English calls for a dummy subject *there* in existential clauses such as *There's plenty of food in the fridge* and presentational clauses such as *There remain many problems* (ibid. 1390–1391) while Finnish does not. Owing to aforementioned differences, Finnish-speakers may omit expletive pronouns in writing (Meriläinen 2010: 127–128):

(29) In our team *is* many guys over two meter high. (pro *there are many guys who are over two meters tall in our team*, cf. Fi. *joukkueessamme on monia tyyppejä, jotka ovat yli kaksimetrisiä* ‘our team-INESSIVE is many guys-PARTITIVE who are over two meters tall-PLURAL’) (SAMKE1)

(30) When *is* year 2025 and I'm teacher I'm very happy. (pro *when it is the year 2025*, cf. Fi. *kun on vuosi 2015* ‘when is year 2025’) (KAULU22)

### 3.5.3 Subordinate clause constructions

Subordinate clauses are clauses that cannot not function on their own in a sentence as they are subordinate to main clauses (Leech and Svartvik 1986: 294–295). In plain terms, subordinate clauses are structures such as relative clauses (...*who live opposite to our house*), *that*-clauses (...*that he was doing something dishonest*), interrogative clauses (...*what he was saying*), *to* infinitives (...*to be honest*), and comparative clauses (...*than the other one was*) (ibid). Finnish and English subordinate clause patterns are relatively similar, but there are minor differences concerning interrogative clauses and *that*-clauses (Fi. *että*-lause), which can cause transfer (Meriläinen 2010: 144).

Meriläinen discovered that Finnish-speakers do not always invert the word order in English interrogative clauses. This reflects the characteristics of Finnish where a similar inversion does not occur. The word order in Finnish interrogative clauses is similar to word order in direct questions, verb + subject, which was one source of transfer in Meriläinen's study (2010: 151–152).

(31) Animals need to know *who is the master*. (pro *who the master is*, cf. Fi. *kuka on herra*) (Meriläinen 2010: 152)

Moreover, students omitted *if* and *whether* in English interrogative clauses. Finnish does not use words resembling *if/whether* in subordinate clauses, which can lead to students omitting them in their English writing as in example below (Meriläinen 2010: 151). Instead of words corresponding to *if/whether*, Finnish-speakers insert an additional particle *-ko* or *-kö* when forming interrogative clauses (ibid.):

- (32) The main point is that you enjoy your life, *are you single or not*. (pro *whether you are single or not*, cf. Fi. *oletko sinkku vai et* ‘be-2SG-ko single or nor’) (Meriläinen 2010: 151)

Most importantly, Finnish *that*-clauses, or *että*-clauses, were a frequent source of transfer in Meriläinen (2010). While Finnish and English *that*-clauses are similar in structure, Finnish uses *that/’että’*-clauses in a broader range of contexts. Meriläinen discovered that Finnish-speakers extended the use of *that*-clauses to contexts where other clause types would be more typical (example 33). Deviant use of *that*-clauses also concerned syntactic constructions that are not present in English, particularly the expression *se, että* (example 34) (Meriläinen 2010: 152):

- (33) I couldn’t wait *that I can start my studies and kickboxing in Hämeenlinna* (pro *to start my studies and kickboxing in Hämeenlinna*, cf. Fi *että, pääsen aloittamaan opintoni ja potkunyrkkeilyn Hämeenlinnassa* ‘that can-1SG start studies-GENITIVE and kickboxing Hämeenlinna-INESSIVE’) (KAULU36)

- (34) But we can be proud of *it that Nokia is selling so good these days* (cf. Fi. *voimme olla ylpeitä siitä, että* ‘can-1PL be proud it-PARTITIVE that’)

### 3.5.4 Passives

In passives constructions some other constituent than the subject of the sentence is emphasised. Passives shift the emphasis from the subject to other constituents, which separates them from active sentences (Hakulinen et al. 2005: 1254). Passives are formed differently in English and Finnish, which is why Finnish-speakers may experience difficulties with them. English passive consist of the verb *be* combined with the main verb in its past participle form: Several letters *were being* [BE] *typed* [PAST PARTICIPLE] by him (Leech and Svartvik 1986: 305). Finnish, however, lacks this

type of prototypical passive common in Indo-European languages (Meriläinen 2010: 116). Instead, Finnish uses a range of structures that resemble the passive voice and convey similar meanings (Hakulinen et al. 2005: 1254). Passive-like constructions in Finnish have different constraints from the English passive voice, which can cause negative transfer (Meriläinen 2010: 116<sup>3</sup>).

In Meriläinen (2010), Finnish-speaking students did not always use English passives correctly. Instead, students used various forms of the active tense instead of the passive (123–127):

(35) There is a lot of animals in the world, which *use* an awful way (pro *are used*, cf. Fi. *käyte-TÄ-än* ‘use-PAS’) (G, 1990, 5) (Meriläinen 2010: 124)

(36) Don’t let no one to tell *what you suppose to do*. (pro *what you are supposed to do*, cf. Fi. *oletetaan tekevän* ‘suppose-PAS do’) (KAULU8)

### 3.5.5 Future time

Finnish lacks future tense endings: actions taking place in the future are commonly expressed using the present tense with suitable time adverbials (Hakulinen 2005: 1468). Owing to the lack of future tense in a morphological sense, Finnish-speakers can leave out English auxiliaries (*will, be going to*) and use the presents tense in contexts where the future tense would be more idiomatic (Meriläinen 2010: 154). In Meriläinen (2010), Finnish-speakers dropped expressions of future time most often when they occurred next to time adverbials such as *always* or *in the future*:

(37) In my opinion, wars *are* wars also *in the future* (B, 2000, 4) (Meriläinen 2010: 161)

Also, present tense was preferred to future tense when the larger context signalled future reference (example 38) or when the predicate had a resultative aspect (example 39) (ibid. 160–162):

(38) There is no shortcut to success. If you want to be the greatest, *you have to give* everything you have. (pro *you will have to give*) (KAULU4)

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<sup>3</sup> For a detailed discussion of passive-like constructions in Finnish and their constraints, see Hakulinen et al. (2005: 1254–1281)

- (39) If people really want to exercise they always *find* a place to do that (pro *will find*; from Meriläinen (2010: 162)

### 3.6 The nature of the study and its methodological limitations

Regarding methodology, it should be mentioned that my analysis focuses more on negative transfer instead of positive transfer. Negative transfer concerns cases where the learners' L1 impedes the acquisition of the target language. In positive transfer, L2 acquisition is aided by similarities between the learners' L1 and the target language. Methodologically, the plausible identification of positive transfer is challenging and more open to interpretation, which is why this thesis focuses on negative transfer. It is possible to provide somewhat reliable evidence for negative transfer using Jarvis' (2000a) methodological framework, but it is considerably more difficult to establish connections between the students' L1 and the target-like features in their compositions. Because of the problemacy of analysing positive transfer, only tentative suggestions of it can be provided.

The majority of earlier studies have focused on errors and negative transfer, largely neglecting positive transfer. Some scholars, such as Odlin (1989) and Ringbom (1983, 2007), have criticised previous research for being too involved with negative transfer. They have called for a broader perspective with more attention to positive effects of the learners' L1. Ringbom, in particular, has argued that studies focusing on errors give a distorted, unjust picture of the learner's language competence. He argues that studies do not acknowledge what learners *are able to* do using the L2 but ultimately stress their deficits as language users (2007: 32).

Ringbom's critique is justified, and I am aware of that my analysis resembles earlier studies as it focuses on negative transfer. Still, my intention is not to make value-based judgements on whether the students' written English is inherently good or bad or to question their communicative competence. The analysis targets features that students have not completely mastered, and the purpose of the study is to investigate manifestations of language transfer as they appear in student



compositions *at this point of their formal English studies*. The analysis does not attempt to establish whether students' command of English is in some way inadequate or not.

Since my analysis focuses on negative transfer, an important question is what counts as target-like use of English and what as deviant language use. I have chosen to rely on grammars and dictionaries of English when it comes to deciding what qualifies as target-like language use. The use of grammars and dictionaries may be regarded as a conservative approach that is embedded in the idea of native speaker usage serving as a model for L2 learners. Using native speaker language as the norm is not unproblematic as Firth and Wagner (1997) and Cook (2008) have pointed out.

Firth and Wagner have criticised second language acquisition research for being too concerned with native speaker models. According to them, research has taken it for granted that native speakers are suitable models for L2 learners. The overall goal of foreign language teaching has been to strive for native language proficiency (ibid 285). The language of the natives has been used blindly as "the benchmark" for learners' command of the target language (ibid 291). Firth and Wagner criticise setting native speakers as the model, calling for a more holistic perspective on language learners that does not label them as incompetent communicators (ibid 296). Similar comments have been provided by Cook (2008) who has pointed out that native speakers are poor models for L2 learners. Cook states that few learners ever achieve a level comparable to native speakers' language skills. She suggests that the goal should be the ability to function well using the language, not striving for unachievable "native-like proficiency" (ibid. 5, 64–65, 170–193).

Despite the criticism, I regard that it is justifiable to rely on native speaker approach. Contrasting learner language with standard English does not automatically mean that learners would be classified as inherently lacking or poor communicators. The thesis will not judge whether the students have good or poor command of English though it relies on standard English norms. Standard language is used as the norm primarily for practical necessities: it would be difficult to analyse language transfer without any codified form of the target language. The analysis cannot

take into account all possible varieties of English or the sheer richness of English as a global language. The most reasonable solution is, therefore, to rely on Standard English although this is not an ideal approach.

More importantly, Standard English is not an arbitrary representation of language that would have nothing to do with communicative competence. First-year students' English compositions are likely to feature instances of language transfer that have little effect on communication, but in other cases language transfer can hinder communication and result in incomprehensible expressions. In other words, norms of Standard English have relevance for overall communication and sheer intelligibility of the intended meaning.

As for my results and their generalisability, it needs to be said the number of subjects in the study is small. Due to the limited number of subjects in the thesis my results cannot provide plausible generalisations or be applied directly to the larger population. Also, all my respondents came from medium-sized Finnish cities, and thus represent relatively urban areas of Finland. The study has not considered possible areal difference, which might cause differences in students' performance. All these factors may affect the results.

Regardless of its limitations, I argue that this study is a relevant piece of research. Even if the results cannot be applied directly to the larger population, the thesis can function as a valuable case study and provide insights into language transfer in first-year students' compositions. Should my analysis give results that are different from previous studies, it would be worthwhile to expand the study and test whether the results are similar on a larger scale.

In addition, this thesis targets a learner group that has received little attention in earlier studies. As first-year upper secondary school students have not been studied extensively before, there is no substantial collection of material available for the analysis. One of the aims of the study is to fill the gap in research by using a collection of authentic material. The amount of material is

small owing to the limited scope of a Master's thesis and the difficulties experienced in data gathering. Thus, the results presented here should be taken to be representative of a limited sample.

## 4 Results

This section presents the results of my analysis that concerned language transfer in first-year upper secondary school students' English compositions. The analysis is divided into two parts: section 4.1 focuses on lexical transfer and 4.2 on syntactic transfer. All nine lexical and five syntactic features included in the analysis will be discussed in their corresponding subsections. The results are analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Figures for frequency and dispersion are given first and then discussed with the help of examples. A full list of instances of language transfer is given in Appendices 3, 4, 5, and 6.

Before proceeding into the analysis, it needs to be mentioned that the initial number of student compositions was 74, but two compositions had to be excluded from the analysis. These students spoke native languages other than Finnish or Swedish, and hence they were not relevant for the analysis. As a result of this, the total number of student compositions diminished to 72 (53 compositions by Finnish-speakers and 19 by Swedish-speakers) instead of initial 74.

What is more, the questionnaires revealed that there were a number of bilingual students among Swedish-speaking students. Bilingualism carries certain advantages, such as greater linguistic creativity and sensitivity for language acquisition (Ringbom 2007), which is why it needs to be considered as an affecting factor. The analysis featured 19 student compositions by Swedish-speaking students. 8 of them could be considered monolinguals (Swedish indicated as official L1, Finnish not spoken at home) and 10 as bilinguals. In one case it was unclear whether the student was bilingual or not. There were no bilingual students in the Finnish-speaking group of informants, meaning that speakers of Swedish may have advantage to in this respect. The number of bilingual students is illustrated in Figure 3 in Appendix 7.

## 4.1 Analysis of lexical transfer in the student compositions

This section presents instances of lexical transfer found in student compositions. Figures for different categories are given first and contrasted with Meriläinen's (2010) figures. Each of the categories is then discussed individually and illustrated with examples. Differences between Finnish- and Swedish-speaking students are considered as well, although the focus is on Finnish-speakers' compositions.

Table 4 shows the distribution of lexical transfer in Meriläinen (2010: 79) and in this thesis. All categories are discussed in sections that follow. Similarly, a comparison of results between speakers of Swedish and Finnish is given in table 5. Figures illustrating the distribution between word forms, word meanings, and word use and different categories are found in Appendix 7.

	Finnish-speaking students in Meriläinen (2010) 96 787 words		Finnish-speaking students in Nevanperä (2017) 12 378 words	
	N	N/10 000	N	N/10 000
Substitution	12	1.2	2	1.6
Relexification	12	1.2	0	0
Orthographic transfer	150	15.5	46	37.2
Phonetic transfer	52	5.4	17	13.7
Morphological transfer	32	3.3	18	14.5
<b>Word form total</b>	<b>285</b>	<b>26.7</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>67.1</b>
Loan translations	80	8.3	22	17.8
Semantic extensions	138	14.3	26	21.0
<b>Word meaning total</b>	<b>218</b>	<b>22.5</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>38.8</b>
Collocations	42	4.3	13	10.5
Functional transfer	185	19.1	16	12.9
<b>Word use total</b>	<b>227</b>	<b>23.5</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>23.4</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>703</b>	<b>72.6</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>128.5</b>

*Table 4: Lexical transfer in Finnish-speaking students' compositions in Meriläinen (2010) and Nevanperä (2017)*

	Swedish-speaking students in Nevanperä (2017) 4625 words		Finnish-speaking students in Nevanperä (2017) 12 378 words	
	N	N/10 000	N	N/10 000
Substitution	3	6.5	2	1.6

Relexification	0	0	0	0
Orthographic transfer	36	77.8	46	37.2
Phonetic transfer	0	0	17	13.7
Morphological transfer	7	15.1	18	14.5
<b>Word form total</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>99.5</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>67.1</b>
Loan translations	5	10.8	22	17.8
Semantic extensions	0	0	26	21.0
<b>Word meaning total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>10.8</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>38.8</b>
Collocations	4	8.6	13	10.5
Functional transfer	1	2.2	16	12.9
<b>Word use total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>10.8</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>23.4</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>121.1</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>128.5</b>

*Table 5: Comparison of lexical transfer in Finnish- and Swedish-speaking students' compositions*

#### 4.1.1 Word forms

Section 4.1.1. focuses on word forms: substitutions, relexifications, orthographic transfer, phonetic transfer, and morphological transfer. Lexical transfer was most frequent on the level of words forms both in my analysis and Meriläinen (2010), while transfer concerning word meanings and word use was occurred less often (see figures 4 and 5 in Appendix 7). English word forms appeared to be difficult for Finnish-speaking first-year students as word forms formed 52% of lexical transfer in their compositions. Swedish-speakers' appeared to struggle with English word forms as well since 82% of all lexical transfer concerned word forms in their compositions (see figure 6 in Appendix). Surprisingly, deviant word forms occurred even more frequent in Swedish-speakers' compositions (see table 5 above). Different manifestations of word forms are discussed in sections that follow.

##### 4.1.1.1 Substitutions

Substitutions were the second smallest category for lexical transfer in Finnish-speakers' compositions. Substitutions were slightly less frequent in first-year students' compositions than in Meriläinens' (2010) Matriculation Examination compositions. The figure in Meriläinen (2010) was 1.2/10 000 words and 1.6/10 000 words in my material.

Two substitutions were found in Finnish-speakers' compositions. The first substitution concerned the noun *radiologist* which has a similar-looking equivalent in Finnish. The second substitution related to the compound word *repetitive straining injury* that student has not been able to express in English:

(40) My mom is working at the x-ray so there comes the idea to be *radiologi*. (pro *radiologist*, cf. Fi. *radiologi*). (SAMKE3)

(41) I don't compete anymore because of the (rasitusvamma?) I have in my leg and because of my studies (pro *repetitive strain injury*) SAMKE4

Substitutions formed an area where speakers of Finnish and Swedish differed to an extent.. Substitutions were more frequent in Swedish-speaking students' compositions than in Finnish-speakers' compositions: three substitutions were found, and the figure for substitutions in Swedish-speakers' compositions was 6.5/10 000 words. The figures should be viewed critically because of the small number of compositions, but overall Swedish-speakers appeared to use substitutions more frequently. One possible explanation for this is the language distance. Since Swedish and English are more closely related and have a number of cognates, Swedish-speakers are perhaps less critical of direct substitutions. Example 42 illustrates a substitution concerning a cognate word:

(42) But nothing is more *paradis* than the sandy beaches, that was almost white and the clear water. (pro *paradise*, cf. Swe. *paradis*) (VÖS14)

Another explanation for the greater number on substitutions in Swedish-speakers' compositions is a practical one. Students may have used substitutions simply because they have experienced difficulties express their thoughts or have lacked suitable vocabulary. This appears to be the case in two examples:

(43) [...] i was on try out to a region team "*regions lag*" (pro *regional team*) (VÖS12)

(44) I also got to play two years in "*österbottens distrikt lag*" (pro *Ostrobothnia district team*) (VÖS12)

#### 4.1.1.2 Relexifications

Relexifications were not found in Finnish-speakers' compositions. This finding can be attributed considerable differences between Finnish and English. Meriläinen has argued that substitutions are rare in Finnish-speakers' texts owing to few links between Finnish and English lexicons (2010: 71), and similar arguments apply to substitutions. Finnish and English lexicons are unrelated, and the word forms in the two languages rarely resemble each other. In the absence of formal similarities, it is unlikely that Finnish students would use direct substitutions or rellexifications where the word forms are modified slightly.

Interestingly, rellexifications were absent even in Swedish-speakers' compositions although 3 substitutions were found. Since there are lexical similarities between English and Swedish, and a number of cognate words, Swedish-speakers may prefer direct substitutions to rellexifications. Substitutions between Swedish and English may function well in many cases because of cognate words, which perhaps explains why Swedish-speakers' compositions feature substitutions but no rellexifications.

#### 4.1.1.1 Orthographic transfer

Orthographic transfer was the most typical form of lexical transfer with 46 examples (37.1/10 000 words). Orthographic transfer was more frequent in first-year students' compositions than in Meriläinen (2010) and occurred more often particularly with compound words. Other cases of orthographic transfer concerned the omission of capital letters in the names of languages, nationalities, and week days. Also, certain English consonants tended to be replaced by others. Frequencies for different manifestations of orthographic transfer are given below.

	Meriläinen (2010) 96 787 words		Nevanperä (2017) 12 378 words	
Type of orthographic transfer	Number of instances	N/10 000	Number of instances	N/10 000
Compound words	74	7.6	35	28.3

Omission of capital letter	42	4.3	6	4.8
Incorrect letter	34	3.5	5	4.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>15.5</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>37.1</b>

Table 6: Phonetic transfer in Finnish-speakers' compositions in Meriläinen (2010) and Neuvonen (2017)

Deviant compound words were notably more frequent in first-year students' compositions than in Meriläinen (2010). Many of the Finnish-speaking students had spelt English compound words without any spaces or formed compound words using a hyphen, thus following the writing conventions used in Finnish (Karlsson 2008: 342–345, Hakulinen et al 2005: 388–395). Finnish compounds occur most typically without a hyphen, but hyphens are in specific cases such as when the first parts of the compound is an abbreviation, acronym or a single letter (Hakulinen et al. 2005: 389–390). Examples below illustrate deviant compound words:

(45) Now that you have found someone special and you guys have hopefully get each others *phonenumbers*, it's time for my second golden rule. (pro *phone numbers*, cf. Fi. *puhelinnumerot*) KAULU30

(46) After a long *school day* nothing is better than go training and see orienteering team friends. SAMKE5 (pro *school day*, cf. Fi. *koulupäivä*)

(47) People are being cheated by the large *TV-companies* (pro *TV companies*, cf. Fi. *TV-yhtiöt*) SAMKE17

Deviant compound did not concern only common nouns, but also proper nouns, such as names of countries, which consisted of two parts (examples 48 and 49).

(48) 2015 was my "rookie year" as I started to attend sanctioned event around *South-Finland* (pro *Southern Finland*, cf. Fi. *Etelä-Suomi*) KAULU27

(49) Yes, a simple country in the *Far-East*. (pro *Far East*, cf. Fi. *Kaukoitää, Itä-Aasia*) KAULU29

Curiously, students omitted spaces even in longer phrases and constructions. Students' English appears to be influenced by their L1 Finnish where corresponding expressions are single-word



constructions. This is a fascinating finding but by no means unique as Meriläinen (2010: 86) and Saurio (2014: 50–51) have given similar results. Meriläinen has pointed out that compounding is used frequently and rather freely in Finnish as a word formation process (ibid), which perhaps explains why it even in larger phrases as in examples 50–52:

(50) *alotof* people picture it as a beautiful place where everyone is happy (pro *a lot of*, cf. Fi. *monet*) SAMKE13

(51) I am *littlebit* sick right now and I am really miserable because I can't go to the gym. (pro *a little bit*, cf. Fi. *vähän, hieman*) KAULU15

(52) If everyday would be a hour longer we had seven hourse more *inaweek*. (, pro *in a week*, cf. Fi. *viikossa*) KAULU21

Moreover, orthographic transfer manifested itself as the omission of capital letters. Finnish does not use capital letters in words that denote languages, nationalities, holidays or days of the week (Hakulinen et al. 2005: 549), which resulted in students leaving out uppercase letters in these cases.

(53) ...last year my team brought home junior *finnish* championships (pro *Finnish*, cf. Fi. *suomalainen*) SAMKE10

(54) Because I study many different subjects example four languages *finnish, swedish, english* and *russian*. (pro *Finnish Swedish English Russian*, cf. Fi. *suomi, ruotsi, englanti, venäjä*) KAULU25

(55) Friday and *saturday* are the only days I have freetime. (pro *Saturday*, cf. Fi. *lauantai*) KAULU19

Similarly, Finnish-speaking students L1 influenced certain English consonants. There were 5 cases of orthographic transfer that concerned the use of a wrong letter. The results are similar to Meriläinen (2010) who demonstrated that Finnish students may replace certain English consonants with others that are more frequent in Finnish phonology. The letter *c*, for instance, was typically replaced with *s* in Meriläinen's study (ibid. 72, 87). Replacement of *c* with *s* was the most frequent incorrect letter in first-year students' compositions as well:

(56) I start to think: "Should I stop right now and start to *consentrate* on studing? (pro *concentrate*,) KAULU8

(57) Also befor *desiding* which style is for you, you have to know your skill level... (pro *deciding*) KAULU5

Other examples of wrong letters found in the material were less typical. One example related to consonant *q* that had been replaced with more typical *k* in Finnish (example 58). Also, there was one instance where the student had simplified the initial consonant cluster in the word *rhythm* based on its Finnish translation equivalent (example 59):

(58) But then, little by little, coaches started to teach us correct swimming *tecknik* (pro *technique*, cf. Fi. *tekniikka*) SAMKE4

(59) it's like the *rythm* went right trough my body (pro *rhythm*, orthographic transfer, cf. Fi. *rytmi*) SAMKE15

Orthographic transfer was more frequent in Swedish-speaking students' compositions: there were 36 instances and the frequency for orthographic transfer was 77.8/10 000 words. This was rather striking as one would assume Swedish-speakers to benefit from similarities between Swedish and English to have less trouble with English orthography. However, similar findigs have been made in previous studies. Ringbom has shown that Swedish-speakers actually make "proportionally more spelling errors than Finnish learners" (1987: 90–91). The proximity between two languages can sometimes cause *more difficulties* with target-language spelling as opposed to situation where language distance between the L1 and the target language is greater (ibid. 91). This finding explains the higher frequecy of orthographic transfer in Swedish-speakers' texts.

Manifestations of orthographic transfer were largely alike in Finnish- and Swedish-speakers' compositions. Swedish-speakers' compositions featured deviant compound words and problems with capital letters as well. Deviant compound words, influenced by Swedish spelling conventions, were the most frequent category (21 found examples). In the majority of cases students had omitted a space between different parts of the compound (example 60), but instances with additional hyphens were found as well (example 61).

(60) A year or so got by, and after asking my parent numerous times about the *violinlessons* they agreed to sign me up for the local musicinstitute. (pro *violin lessons*, cf. Swe. *fiollektioner*) VÖS8

(61) As a finn myself, I have thought about why our *school-system* is praised internationally. (pro *school system*, cf. Swe. *skolsystem*) VÖS18

Omission of spaces did not concern only compound words per se, but occurred also with grammatical constructions consisting of several parts. Omissions appear to be influenced by similar expressions in Swedish that are single-word expressions as was the case with Finnish-speakers:

(62) I picked up computer gaming *aswell*, which probably is my biggest hobby today. (pro *as well*, cf. Swe. *också* ‘as well, also’) VÖS17

(63) In my paradise no one would ever have to starve, and people would help *eachother*. (pro *each other*, cf. Swe. *varandra* ‘each other’) VÖS10

Besides compound words, omissions of capital letters were relatively common in Swedish-speakers’ compositions (9 examples). Student had omitted capital letters in the names of languages and in adjectives denoting nationalities. This reflects the Swedish writing conventions that are similar to the ones in Finnish: names of nationalities and languages are not normally capitalised but written with a lowercase letter as in examples 63 and 64.

(64) But many of them [reality shows] are either produced by *american* companise such as Bravo or also filmed in the US.... (pro *American*, cf. Swe. *amerikansk*) VÖS16

(65) I don’t really cere if it is a new word in *swedish* or it is a new fact. (pro *Swedish*, cf. Swe. *svenska*) VÖS3

There was only one example of a wrong letter in Swedish-speakers’ compositions (example 66). Swedish word forms had, however, affected the students’ spelling in other ways in 3 examples (examples 67, 68, and 69). Formal similarities between Swedish and English were clearly visible in the examples as the Swedish word resembled its English equivalents considerably. Yet minor differences in word forms appear to have caused negative transfer:

(66) If I’d have that *chanse* to add one hour to the day, I would, and I am sure I would, spend it laying in my bed... (pro *chance*, cf. Swe. *chans*) VÖS5

(67) When I was about seven years old I started playing *football* in Vasa IFM, I really enjoied it for many years. (pro *football*, cf. Swe. *fotboll*) VÖS17

(68) So I quited *football* in seventh grade. (pro *football*, cf. Swe *fotboll*) VÖS17

(69) I'm not sure if this [cheering up terminally ill children at the hospital] is an *actuall* job, I hope so. (pro *actual*, cf. Swe. *aktuell*) VÖS19

An interesting finding that occurred both in Finnish- and Swedish-speakers' compositions was that students had spelt the pronoun *I* with a lowercase letter. The deviant spelling of *I* was very common regardless of the students' native language (27 examples in Swedish-speakers' compositions, 21 in Finnish-speakers').

(70) I think *i* am the way *i* am because *i* play soccer (pro *I*, cf, Swe. *jag*) VÖS12

Problems with the pronoun *I* could perhaps be attributed to language transfer as all personal pronouns are written with lowercase letters in Swedish and Finnish. Nevertheless, a more plausible explanation is that the spelling of *I* is influenced by the informal language studnets encounter on the web. The pronoun *I* is frequently spelt without capitalisation on more informal domains of written English such as social media. The informal language likely to influence students' English writing even in more formal contexts. Examples of lowercase *I* are not considered as manifestations transfer here, but they are presented in the appendices because of their high frequency.

#### 4.1.1.2 Phonetic transfer

	Meriläinen (2010: 88) 96 787 words		Nevanperä (2017) 12 378 words	
Type of phonetic transfer	Number of instances	N/10 000	Number of instances	N/10 000
Phonemes	22	2.27	17	13.7
Stress	30	3.1	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>5.4</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>13.7</b>

Table 7: Phonetic transfer in Finnish-speakers' compositions in Meriläinen (2010) and Nevanperä (2017)

Phonetic transfer was substantially more frequent in first-year students' compositions than in older students' texts analysed in Meriläinen (2010). The figure in this thesis was 13.7/10 000 words, while in Meriläinen's study it was 5.4/10 000 words.

An interesting difference in results was that there were no examples of phonetic transfer relating to word stress in my material. Meriläinen discovered that Finnish learners sometimes struggled with English word stress: students did not always register all syllables in English because the word stress was not on the first syllable. As a result, students ended up omitting unstressed syllables in their writing (Meriläinen 2010: 73).

A similar tendency was not found in first-year students' composition: all instances of phonetic transfer were caused by phoneme differences. The problems concerned the phoneme pairs /p/-/b/, /k/-/g/, and /t/-/d/. Students replaced voiced consonants /b/, /g/, and /d/ with their voiceless counterparts, which can be explained by the characteristics of Finnish phonology. The phonemes /b/, /g/, and /d/ are used rarely in Finnish, and they occur mainly in borrowings (Hakulinen et al 2005). Thus, students may replace these phonemes with their voiceless counterparts as they appear more familiar to them. Finnish-speakers' problems with phoneme pairs /p/-/b/, /k/-/g/, and /t/-/d/ have been noted before by both Ringbom (2007) and Meriläinen (2010). Examples 71–73 illustrate deviant consonant phonemes:

(71) There is no rainforests without spiders, no oceans without sharks and *probaply* a monkey has stolen my book (pro *probably*) KAULU26

(72) Finally I *decited* to give disc golf a chance and on the same day I went to buy my first own discs. (pro *decided*) KAULU27

(73)...there are so many *think*s what you had to solve before you can come to high school (pro *things*) SAMKE6

In addition to voiced consonants, students appeared to have some difficulties perceiving the differences between the phonemes /t/ and /θ/. Students replaced /θ/ with /t/, which can be explained by the absence of the phoneme /θ/ in Finnish:

(74) I also have to study *teoretical* music (pro *theoretical music*) SAMKE4

(75) We have *tree* event trampet, tumbling and floor. (pro *three*) SAMKE10

As for Swedish-speakers, phonetic transfer was not found in their compositions. This was anticipated as the Swedish phonology is more similar to English than the Finnish one. Similarities can cause positive transfer that benefits Swedish-speaking learners of English. Positive transfer gives one plausible explanation to absence of phonetic transfer in Swedish-speakers' compositions.

#### 4.1.1.3 Morphological transfer

The analysis revealed 16 examples of morphological transfer in Finnish-speakers' compositions. Similarly to phonetic transfer, morphological transfer was notably more common in my material in comparison with Meriläinen (2010). The figure for morphological transfer was 14.5/10 000 words in this thesis as opposed to 3.3/10 000 words in Meriläinen's study.

As in Meriläinen (2010), morphological transfer related to non-standard singular and plural forms of English nouns. Particularly the word *training* caused difficulties for first-year students. While *training* corresponds to the word *harjoitus* in Finnish, *training* is an uncountable noun and not normally used in the plural form unlike in Finnish:

(76) I want to become better orienteerer so I have many *trainings* every week. (pro *many training sessions, much training*, cf. Fi *harjoitukset* 'trainings') SAMKE5

(77) I have got many memories from games and *trainings*. (pro *training sessions*, cf. Fi *harjoitukset* 'trainings') SAMKE11

Another common casualty for transfer was the expression *each other*. The corresponding Finnish expression *toinen toistaan* is used in the plural, which appears to be the cause of negative transfer in examples 78 and 79. Finnish-speakers' difficulties with *each other* were present in Meriläinen's (2010) study and have been noted likewise in Saurio (2014).

(78) People were so kind and everyone wanted to help each *others* (pro *each other*, cf. Fi *toisiaan* 'each others-PAR') KAULU23

- (79) During the week people just fight with *each others* and grow hate. (pro *each other*, cf. Fi. *toistensa kanssa* ‘with each others’) SAMKE18

Even other examples of morphological transfer occurred. In all of these cases students’ L1 Finnish had influenced their use of English singular and plural forms:

- (80) As said, park riding can be very dangerous if you don’t know what you’re doing or you don’t have the right *equipments*. (pro *equipment*, cf. Fi. *välineet*, *varusteet* ‘equipments’) KAULU5
- (81) ...and after that you have hard traing and after that you should do your *homeworks* and everythink else I will be sure to you will face the burn out on sometime. (pro *homework*, cf. Fi. *kotityöt* ‘homeworks’) SAMKE6

A rather surprising finding concerning language differences was that morphological transfer was more frequent in Swedish-speakers’ compositions. The figure in Swedish-speakers’ compositions was 15.1/10 000, and there were 7 examples that could be classified as morphological transfer. Morphological transfer related to a number English of expressions such as *homework*, *gymnastics*, and *contents* that are morphologically different in English and Swedish:

- (82) When you combine listening on class, doing *homeworks*, assignments and reading the texts, you should have a great chance for a nice grade. (pro *homework*, cf. Swe. *hemläxor* ‘homeworks’) VÖS4
- (83) My hobby is group/team *gymnastic* and I’ve been doing it since I was 6 year old, so it has been an important thing ever since. (pro *group gymnastics/team gymnastics*, cf. Swe. *truppgymnastik* ‘group gymnastic’) VÖS9
- (84) When we finally reached the front of the line, the border guy simply glanced at the *content* of our car... (pro *contents* (plural), cf. Swe. *inhåll* ‘content’) VÖS20

#### 4.1.2 Word meanings

This section shifts the focus to words meanings: loan translations and semantic extensions. Language transfer caused by differences in word meanings was not as frequent as deviant word forms. Still, word meanings comprised 30% of lexical transfer in Meriläinen (2010) and in Finish-

speaking students' compositions featured in my material (see figures 4 and 5 in Appendix 7). Word meanings were considerably rarer in Swedish-speakers' texts where they amounted to 9% of lexical transfer (figure 6 in Appendix 7). A detailed analysis of loan translations and semantic extensions, which were the two manifestations of word meanings, is given in 4.1.2.1 and 4.1.2.2.

#### 4.1.2.1 Loan translations

	Meriläinen (2010: 91) 96 787 words		Nevanperä (2017) 12 378 words	
Type of loan translation	Number of instances	N/10 000	Number of instances	N/10 000
Compound words	25	2.6	5	4.0
Idiomatic phrases	50	5.2	15	12.1
Idioms	5	0.5	1	0.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>8.3</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>17.0 (rounded)</b>

Table 8: Loan translations in Finnish-speakers' compositions in Meriläinen (2010) and Nevanperä (2017)

The analysis revealed 22 examples of loan translations in Finnish-speakers' compositions (17.0/10 000 words). When compared to Meriläinen (2010), loan translations were more common in my material featuring younger students. Regarding different manifestations of loan translations, the results were rather similar in both studies as idiomatic phrases formed the largest category. In these cases students had translated various fixed expressions directly from Finnish into English. The Finnish construction *mennä tekemään jotakin* was one of the expressions causing transfer in my material (examples 83 and 84).

(85) That's why I can't go jogging more than a few times a week, because I have to go on a walk with my dog every day and after that I *go read* my books. (pro *go and read*, cf. Fi *mennä lukemaan* 'go read') KAULU35

(86) After a long schoolday nothing is better than *go training* and see orienteering team friends (pro *go and train*, cf. Fi *mennä harjoittelemaan* 'go train') SAMKE5



Idiomatic phrases concerned a number other phrases as well and formed a rather heterogenous category. Expressions such as *tällä hetkellä* ‘at the moment’ and *ottaa paineita jostakin* ‘stress about something’ were two phrases appearing to cause transfer (examples 87 and 88):

(87) *This time* I don’t have any certain hobby that I do every week at the same time with the coach or an other leader but generally speaking sport is my passion. (pro *at the moment/right now*, cf. Fi. *tällä hetkellä* ‘this-ADESSIVE time-ADESSIVE, this-ADESSIVE moment-ADESSIVE’) KAULU34

(88) Don’t *take any pressures* of it. (pro *stress about it*, cf. Fi. *ottaa paineita* ‘take pressure-PL-PAR’) KAULU30

Similar comments can be made about the constructions *mitä johonkin tulee* ‘whent it comes to expressions something’ and *ei ollut muuta mahdollisuutta* ‘not to have a choice’. As the examples below illustrate, loan translation affected even larger expressions in first-year students. Though close to their English equivalents, deviant expressions in examples 87 and 88 can be accredited to the students’ L1 Finnish:

(89) And *what comes to the motivation...* (pro *when it comes to motivation*, cf. Fi. *mitä motivaatioon tulee* ‘what comes to motivation’) KAULU28

(90) I didn’t have *other* choice. (pro *I didn’t have a choice*, cf. Fi. *Minulla ei ollut muuta mahdollisuutta; muuta* ‘other-PAR’) KAULU34

In addition to idiomatic phrases, students compositions featured compound words and idioms although both categories were less common than idiomatic phrases. Students had applied Finnish compound words to their English writing in 5 cases. In some of the cases the resulting word was close to the intended meaning but likely incomprehensible for a native speaker (example 91). In others the deviant compound closer to the standard form (example 92).

(91) in my opinion competitive sport and studies aren’t so hard to combine in *basic school* because *basic school* studies don’t take so much time as high school studies (pro *comprehensive school*, cf. Fi. *peruskoulu* ‘basic school’) SAMKE6

(92) Sports and all kinds of physical activities will keep you healthy and your *bodyfunctions* normal. (pro *bodily functions*, cf. Fi. *ruumiintoiminnot, elintoiminnot*). KAULU4

Also, in one case the student had created a complex compound consisting of three-parts. Transfer concerns both the direct translation of semantic elements and the orthographic form of Finnish compound words in this example:

- (93) After a long schoolday nothing is better than go training and see *orienteering team friends* (pro *friends at the orienteering team*, cf. Fi. *suunnistusjoukkuekaverit*) SAMKE5

First-year students' compositions featured one deviant idiom where the student had translated directly a Finnish idiom into English. The example concerns the Finnish expression *hopea hävitään* 'silver is lost' or *hävitä hopeaa* 'to lose silver' that relates to sports. The idiom conveys an idea that a silver medal is always a defeat and hence "lost" as the athlete has failed to win the competition. The intended meaning of the idiom may be rather obscure as it has no equivalent in English. This example is given below:

- (94) Biggest win in my "career" was few years ago when we won or *loss silver medals* in floorball. (pro *we lost the gold but won silver*, cf. Fi. *hävisimme hopeaa* 'we lost silver-PAR') KAULU3

As for differences between Finnish- and Swedish-speakers, loan translations were slightly less frequent in Swedish-speakers' compositions. The analysis discovered 5 loan translations, the frequency for them being 10.8/10 000 words. Four of the cases concerned compound words, two of which are presented below:

- (95) It is probably one of the safest cities in the world, they have almost no *crime activity*. (pro *criminal activity*, cf. Swe. *broddsaktivitet*, 'crime activity') VÖS14

- (96) You're obliged to at least have a *ground level education* by law which consists of grades 1-9. (pro *basic level of education*, cf. Swe. *grundutbildning* 'ground education') VÖS18

In addition to compound words, there was one instance of a deviant idiomatic phrase:

- (97) But now when I'm going in high school I'm having *troubles* making time for both football and studies. (pro *have trouble*, cf. Swe. *ha problem* 'to have problem-PL') VÖS11

#### 4.1.2.2 Semantic extensions

Semantic extensions occurred frequently (21.0/10 000 words) and were, in fact, the second largest category after orthographic transfer. Meriläinen (2010) received similar results: semantic extensions were common in Matriculation Examination compositions (14.8/10 000 words) and accounted for 64.3% of all lexical transfer in her study. Semantic extensions appear to be a particularly frequent form of transfer in Finnish-speakers' texts and this certainly applied to my material.

As discussed in 3.4.7, semantic extensions are a form of transfer caused by mismatches between the semantic ranges in two languages. For speakers of Finnish, the problem tends to be that Finnish words are more expansive and less specific than the corresponding words in English. A case in point is the *sopia* which can be translated either as *fit* or *suit* in English. The word *sopia* was one source of semantic extensions in my material:

(98) Also you have to be sociable, witch *fits* perfectly for me. (pro *suits*, cf. Fi. *sopia* 'suit, fit')  
KAULU36

(99) Also befor desiding which style is for you, you have to know your skill level and what  
boarding brand *fits* for you. (pro *suits*, cf. Fi. *sopia* 'suit, fit') KAULU5

In addition to *sopia*, another common source of semantic extensions was the word *tulla*. The word corresponds both to *come* and *become* in English, which has led to unidiomatic constructions in student compositions. Problems with *come* and *become* may seem untypical cases of semantic extensions, but they have been noted before by Saurio (2014: 60) and Meriläinen (2010: 94):

(100) In recent years I have token part for many orienteering races, so it has *come* a bit  
more serious for me. (pro *become*, cf. Fi. *tulla* 'become, come') KAULU3

(101) Then I will hope that my dream *become* true and I would be a police. (pro *come*, cf.  
Fi. *tulla* 'become, come') KAULU36

Similarly to *become* and *come*, even the Finnish verb *olla* 'be' caused negative transfer. The cases featuring *olla* relate to future tense. Finnish refers to the future normally using a suitable time

adverbial combined with a present tense: *Hän tulee huomenna* ‘He/she come-PRE-3SG tomorrow’ (Hakulinen et al. 2005: 1468). However, present tense can be interpreted to refer to the future *even without a time adverbial* (ibid. 1469, emphasis added). Finnish-speaking students had sometimes extended the English *be* to contexts where *become* would be more appropriate. The reference to future was signalled by the surrounding context in the examples as the compositions related to students’ career dreams. Similar findings to examples 102 and 103 have not been reported in previous studies:

(102) When I was the little child about 7-year-old I wanted to *be* a class teacher. (pro *become*, cf. Fi *olla opettaja* [tulevaisuudessa] ‘be teacher [in the future]’) KAULU22

(103) I always watched that TV show and then I decided that I want to *be* a lawyer. (pro *to become*, cf. Fi *olla lakimies* [tulevaisuudessa] ‘be lawyer [in the future]’) KAULU13

Other interesting findings in first-year students’ texts concerned the words *keen* and *humans*. Meriläinen has noted that semantic extensions may include instances where students have mixed up two resembling words in Finnish and their counterparts in English such as *kuulla* ‘hear’ and *kuulostaa* ‘sound’. Semantic extensions may likewise result in modified forms. Meriläinen found one instance where the adjective *chosen* was modified on the verb *choose* ‘valita’ and used in sense *optional* ‘valinnainen’ (2010: 94). A similar example concerning the adjective *keen* ‘kiinnostunut’ and the construction *become interested* ‘kiinnostua’ was found in my material:

(104) I had ridden for three years until I got *keeened* on that one specific horse. (pro *interested*, cf. Fi *kiinnostua* ‘become interested, *kiinnostunut* ‘keen, interested’) SAMKE8

Examples featuring the word *humans* related to the Finnish word *ihmiset* that can be translated as ‘people’ or ‘humans’. In the examples, *humans* appears strange as the word carries the meaning of referring to a species. The word *people* would be more appropriate as the reference is about persons in general. Notably, both examples were by the same writer:

(105) On the other hand *humans* may like to sophisticate their empathy and sympathy by watching reality shows. (pro *people*, cf. Fi *ihmiset* ‘humans, people’) SAMKE18

- (106) Approx. 10 *humans* are locked into big house...(pro *people*, cf. Fi *ihmiset* ‘humans, people’) SAMKE18

Semantic extensions were not found in Swedish-speakers’ compositions. As the semantic ranges of Swedish and English are closer to each other, one can expect semantic extensions to be rarer in Swedish-speakers’ compositions. Owing to proximity between Swedish and English, Swedish-speaking students may benefit from positive transfer between their L1 and English, which could explain the absence of semantic extensions. Another possibility is that semantic extensions were not found due to the small number of compositions.

### 4.1.3 Word use

Word use concerned collocations and functional transfer in student compositions. Word use covered 31% of lexical transfer in Meriläinen’s dissertation (see figure 4 in Appendix 7), but was less typical in my material. Only 18% of lexical transfer in Finnish-speakers’ compositions concerned word use (see figure 5 in Appendix), which was a surprisingly low figure. One explanation for this may be the avoidance of certain constructions, which is discussed in relation to functional transfer. Different manifestations of word use were infrequent even in Swedish-speakers’ compositions: word use covered 9% of lexical transfer (see figure 6 in Appendix 7). This finding can perhaps be attributed to similarities between Swedish and English that facilitate students’ acquisition of English. Collocations and functional that represent word use are analysed in more detail below.

#### 4.1.3.1 Collocations

Collocations were relatively common in Finnish-speakers’ compositions (13 examples found). The frequency for collocations was 10.5/10 000 words, meaning that they were markedly more frequent in first-year students compositions than in Meriläinen’s analysis (4.3/10 000 words). The most typical difficulties with collocations concerned the distinction between *do* and *make* in Meriläinen

(2010). Both expressions could be translated as *tehdä* in Finnish, which caused language transfer in Finnish-speakers' Matriculation compositions. Collocations formed a rather diverse category in first-year students' compositions but difficulties with *do* and *make* were present in two examples:

(107) Every day after the school I do sports and hanging out with my friends. Also *making* homework and studying for exams when I realized this I opened my eyes again. (pro *do* homework, cf. Fi. *tehdä kotitehtäviä*) KAULU36

(108) we didn't need to *do* breakfast ourselves (pro *make breakfast*, cf. Fi. *tehdä aamiaista*) SAMKE14

Besides *do* and *make*, non-standard collocations occurred next to a variety of other words. The Finnish verbs *mennä* and *käydä* 'go' were typical examples where the transfer from Finnish to English could be noticed (examples 107–108). Other unidiomatic collocations related to pairs such as *look* and *watch* (example 109) and *see* and *notice* (example 110):

(109) I want to *go* Thailand again. (pro *visit*, cf. Fi. *mennä Thaimaahan* 'go Thailand-ILLATIVE') SAMKE14

(110) I go to the gym, [go to] *spinning* and dance classes. (pro *do spinning*, cf. Fi. *käydä spinningissä* 'go spinning-INESSIVE') KAULU17

(111) They don't try to be different person people who *look* reality shows want to see competitions and people's normal life. (pro *watch*, cf. Fi. *katsoa* 'look, watch') KAULU18

(112) Going to gym as a hobby it's really great because you can easily *notice* your progress. (pro *see* your progress, cf. Fi. *huomata edistymistä* 'notice progress-PAR') KAULU15

The majority of deviant collocates were verbs as above. Yet one instance was found where the students had chosen an untypical adjective. The example concerned the words *certain* and *particular* that could both be translated as *tietty* in Finnish:

(113) This time I don't have any *certain* hobby that I do every week at the same time with the coach or an other leader but generally speaking sport is my passion. (pro. *particular*, cf. Fi *tietty* 'particular, certain') KAULU34

In addition to verbs and one adjective, non-standard collocates were applied to nouns. Finnish-speakers' compositions featured one example of a deviant noun collocate. In this example, the Finnish word *parvi* 'swarm, flock, school' had caused negative transfer. The Finnish *parvi* is used in reference to various groups of animals such as birds, fish, and insects. English, for its parts, has very specific collocates for different groups of animals as example 114 shows:

- (114) We got lucky by hitting a big *swarm* of perches (pro *school of perch*, cf. Fi *ahvenparvi* 'swarm of perch'; *kalaparvi*, 'swarm of fish') SAMKE2

As opposed to Finnish-speakers, collocations were rather infrequent among speakers of Swedish. The frequency for collocations in Swedish-speakers' texts was 8.6/10 000 words. Collocations found formed a small but somewhat heterogenous category in Swedish-speakers' compositions as all 4 examples concerned different words. Interestingly, three of the examples related to adjectives and only one non-standard verb collocate was found. The examples were rather specific expressions where otherwise related Swedish and English differed from each other in their choice of a collocate:

- (115) How ever this trip wouldn't have been the same if we hadn't *done* it as a family. (pro *taken* (take a trip), cf. Swe. *göra en resa* 'do a trip') VÖS1
- (116) My advice if you want to do *good* in tests is firs of all, listen and stay focused all the time in class. (pro *well*, cf. Swe *bra* 'good, well' as in *göra bra ifrån sig, lyckas bra*) VÖS4
- (117) As the standard of living becomes *better* and better, the population becomes dumber and dumber. (pro *higher*, cf. Swe *levnadsstandarden blir bättre och bättre* 'the standard of living becomes better and better') VÖS13
- (118) Your heart rate slows down and your breathing becomes *deeper* and more stable. (pro *heavier*, cf. Swe *andas djupt* 'breath deeply') VÖS20

It must be said that collocations were not always easy to classify. The boundaries between different categories are sometimes fuzzy – particularly so when it comes to semantic extensions and collocations. The classification of collocations was not unproblematic, and some of the cases listed as collocates could have been labelled even as semantic extensions. The boundary between

semantic extensions and collocations is not absolute but the two categories appears to overlap to an extent. Thus, some of the findings presented here as collocates could be categorised as semantic extensions or vice versa.

#### 4.1.3.2 Functional transfer

	Meriläinen (2010: 97) 96 787 words		Nevanperä (2017) 12 378 words	
Type of functional transfer	Number of instances	N/10 000	Number of instances	N/10 000
Auxiliary <i>olla</i> ‘to be’	51	5.2	1	0.8
Reflexive pronoun	10	1.0	2	1.6
Indefinite pronoun	11	1.1	1	0.8
Demonstrative pronoun	1	0.1	0	0
Relative pronoun	73	7.5	9	7.2
Conjunctions and connectors	30	3.1	2	1.6
Focusing particles	9	0.9	0	0
Other	0	0	1	0.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>185</b>	<b>19.1</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>12.9</b>

Table 9: Functional transfer in Finnish-speakers’ compositions in Meriläinen (2010) and Nevanperä (2017)

Functional transfer, which concerns the use of English function words, was a particularly interesting category. Unlike other forms of lexical transfer, functional transfer occurred *less frequently* in first-year students’ compositions than in Meriläinen (2010). This was surprising because functional transfer was the largest category in Meriläinen’s analysis, covering 26.3% of all lexical transfer (2010: 79). One would have assumed language transfer to be even more frequent in first-year students’ texts as they have just begun their upper secondary school English studies, but this hypothesis was false.



The higher frequency of functional transfer in Meriläinen (2010) can perhaps be explained by increased language proficiency. Meriläinen (2010) investigated language transfer from a diachronic perspective using student compositions from 1990, 2000, and 2005. She discovered that functional transfer had decreased in Finnish-speakers' compositions over time (Meriläinen 2010: 105–109). English is more and more present in students' daily lives, and it may be that students today have a better command of certain English features than in the mid-2000s. Diachronic improvement in some areas of language might explain why functional transfer occurs less frequently in first-year students' composition. The suggestion is, however, difficult to verify and different results can be caused simply by my smaller amount of material.

In addition to frequencies, there was interesting variation concerning in the manifestations of functional transfer in Meriläinen (2010) this thesis. The greatest difference concerned Finnish-speakers' tendency to confuse the verbs *have* and *be* which both correspond to the Finnish verb *olla*. This subcategory was frequent in Meriläinen (2010), but only one such instance was found in first-year students compositions:

- (119) After ten year it is till my dream, nothing *isn't change*. (pro *hasn't changed*, cf. Fi. *ei ole muuttunut*) KAULU13

Students were likewise reported to use the indefinite pronoun *some* and the demonstrative pronoun *it* to mark nouns as indefinite and definite in their writing. This was similar to the use of 'joku' and 'se' in Finnish, which was transferred to English. Use of *some* and *it* occurred very rarely in first-year students' texts: only one example of a deviant indefinite pronoun was *some* found. Example 118 illustrates the former.

- (120) I watched *some* TV show where was a woman. (pro *a TV show*, cf. Fi. *jotakin TV-ohjelmaa* 'some TV show-PAR') KAULU13

Relative pronouns formed the largest subcategory of functional transfer both in Meriläinen (2010) and in this thesis. Meriläinen discovered that Finnish-learners of English replace relative pronouns *that* and *which* with *what*, which is attributed to the Finnish pronoun *mikä* 'what, which'. This

applied even to first-year students as *what* was used in contexts where *which* would have been more idiomatic:

(121) ...there are so many thinks *what* you had to solve before you can come to high school (pro *which*, cf. Fi. *mikä* 'what, which') SAMKE6

(122) After a hard day in school, sport is the thing *what* takes school pressures of on my shoulders. (pro *which*, cf. Fi. *mikä* 'what, which') KAULU3

Two instances of reflexive pronouns were found as well. In these cases student had inserted redundant reflexive pronouns *myself* and *ourselves* into English verb phrases. Language transfer in examples 121 and 122 is caused by corresponding structures in Finnish where reflexive pronouns are required:

(123) Every time when I feel *myself* sad or lonely I just listen good music. (pro *feel*, cf. Fi. *tuntea itsensä* 'feel + reflexive pronoun') KAULU8

(124) I started to ride Formu for three times a week, and after two years we bought it to *ourselves*. (pro *bought it*, cf. Fi. *ostimme sen omaksemme* 'bought it ourselves-ALLATIVE') SAMKE8

Non-standar use of connecting words was common in Meriläinen (2010) compositions but occurred much less frequently in first-year students' texts. Only one example of connecting words was found. In the example the use of English *so* was influenced as a by the Finnish *niin*:

(125) ...you don't have to start TeamGym in *so* early age. (pro *such*, cf. Fi. *niin* 'so, such') SAMKE10

In Meriläinen' study, students' L1 Finnish had affected even the use of the particles *already* and *yet* which had been influenced by their Finnish counterparts *jo* ja *kuitenkin*. However, there were no examples of deviant focusing particles in my material. Finnish-speaking student had sometimes inserted the focus particle *also* in an untypical place in a sentence, but this finding relates to syntax and students' interlanguage rather than language transfer.

First-year students' compositions included one instance of functional transfer which was not listed in Meriläinen (2010). The example related to the use of comparative construction *more than*.

The Finnish-speaking student had used the word *over* instead of *more*, which can be attributed to the *yli* in Finnish. *Yli* ‘over’ is used typically even in the sense ‘more than’ Finnish, which has resulted in transfer in example 124:

- (126) Even if there was *over* than ten kilometres left, in some way we found the others (9 functional transfer pro *more*, cf. Fi *yli kymmenen kilometriä* ‘more than ten kilometres, over ten kilometres’) KAULU18

As for comparisons between Finnish- and Swedish-speaking students, it is notable that functional transfer was considerably rarer in Swedish-speakers’ compositions (2.2 /10 000 words). The analysis revealed merely one instance of functional transfer. In this case *what* was used as a relative pronoun:

- (127) Given that finns have a choice of *what* career path they want to go after at any time and age, it has an impact on your daily life. (pro *which*, cf. Swe *vilken/vilket* ‘which, what’) VÖS18

The Swedish *vilken* appears to be source of transfer the example above. *Vilken* can be used both as a question word (‘what, which’) and as a relative pronoun (‘which’) in Swedish (Hultman 2003: 113). The student in the example has used *what* as a direct translation equivalent to *vilken*, which has resulted in a non-standard relative pronoun.

It should be mentioned that deviant relative pronouns occurred both in Swedish- and Finnish-speakers’ compositions. Meriläinen has pointed out that using *what* as a relative pronoun is common in colloquial English in the United Kingdom. One could therefore suggest that the students’ choice of relative pronoun is influenced by spoken language (2010: 100). However, this is unlikely because there are subtle yet rather differences between English and Finnish relative pronouns (ibid) and even between Swedish and English as the examples illustrate.

## 4.2 Analysis of syntactic transfer in the student compositions

The analysis on syntactic transfer is presented in this section. The order is similar to the previous section: a comparison of figures to Meriläinen (2010) is presented first which is then followed by a

qualitative analysis of categories. Finnish-speaking students' compositions are analysed first and then contrasted with the smaller collection of Swedish-speakers' compositions.

The general trend in both Meriläinen (2010: 113) and this thesis was that syntactic transfer was less frequent than lexical transfer. As discussed in the theory section, scholars such as Dulay, Burt and Krashen (1983) have questioned whether the learner's L1 can have any significant effect on syntax. Both in Meriläinen (2010) and in this thesis, syntactic transfer was less frequent than lexical transfer but by no means non-existent.

Table 10 provides a comparison of my results to Meriläinen's (2010: 113). The five categories are discussed in the subsections that follow. Differences between Finnish- and Swedish-speaking students are presented in table 11. Additional pie charts illustrating different manifestations of syntactic transfer are given in Appendix 7 (figures 10, 11, and 12).

	Finnish-speaking students in Meriläinen (2010) 96 787 words		Finnish-speaking students in Nevanperä (2017) 12 378 words	
	N	N/10 000	N	N/10 000
The passive construction	69	7.1	1	0.8
Expletive pronoun construction	93	9.6	11	8.9
Subordinate clause patterns	88	9.1	8	6.5
Future time	63	6.5	17	13.7
Prepositional constructions	358	37.0	70	56.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>671</b>	<b>69.3</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>86.4</b>

*Table 10: Frequencies of syntactic categories in Finnish-speaking students' compositions in Meriläinen (2010) and Nevanperä (2017)*

	Swedish-speaking students in Nevanperä (2017) 4625 words		Finnish-speaking students in Nevanperä (2017) 12 378 words	
	N	N/10 000	N	N/10 000
The passive construction	1	2.1	1	0.8
Expletive pronoun construction	0	0	11	8.9
Subordinate clause patterns	1	2.1	8	6.5
Future time	4	8.6	17	13.7
Prepositional constructions	13	28.1	70	56.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>41.0</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>86.4</b>

*Table 11: Syntactic transfer in Swedish- and Finnish-speakers' compositions in and Nevanperä (2017)*

### 4.2.1 Passive constructions

Deviant passive constructions were rare in first-year students' compositions: merely one case was found. Passives occurred 0.8 times per 10 000 words in first-year students' compositions, whereas in Meriläinen (2010) they were significantly more frequent (7.1/10 000 words). Overall there were few passives in the material, and the majority of compositions had been written entirely in the active tense. The single deviant passive construction is given below.

- (128) Don't let no one to tell *what you suppose to do*. (pro *what you are supposed to do*, cf. Fi. *mitä sinun tulee tehdä* 'what you suppose-PAS do') (KAULU8)

The use of the passive was infrequent even amongst speakers of Swedish. Only one deviant passive was found in their compositions. Because of a relatively small size of the Swedish-speaking data set (4625 words), the figure for passives amounted to 2.1/10 000 words. The single example is given below:

- (129) These were the days when Croatia *hadn't get joined* the EU, so everyone entering the country had to pass through customs (cf. Swe. *hade inte blivit anknuten till* 'had not get-PAST PARTICIPLE connect/join-PAST-PARTICIPLE to) VÖS20

The primary passive voice in Swedish is similar to the one used in English (Meriläinen 2010: 116), and therefore it is not surprising that passives were less common amongst Swedish-speakers. Yet it is worth noting that there are several ways to express passive in Swedish. The prototypical passive voice in is formed by adding the letter *s* to the verb (Han greps av polisen 'he was caught by the police'), but the construction *bli* + perfect participle is used to express the passive as well (Han blev gripen av polisen 'he become/get-PAST catch-PERFECT PARTICIPLE by the police') (Hultman 2003: 155). This so-called *bli*-passive appears to be the source of negative transfer in example 127 as the Swedish auxiliary *bli* corresponds to both to *become* and *be/get*.

### 4.2.2 Expletive pronoun constructions

Expletive pronouns were left out in Finnish-speakers' compositions in 11 instances. Omissions of expletive pronouns were slightly less common in first-year students' compositions than in Meriläinen (2010): there were 8.9 instances per 10 000 words in my material, while the figure in Meriläinen's was 9.6/10 000 words. Meriläinen (2010: 138) divided deviant expletive pronouns into six subcategories which are presented in table X (ibid. 138).

	Meriläinen (2010) 96 787 words		Nevanperä (2017) 12 378 words	
	Number of instances	N/10 000	Number of instances	N/10 000
Omission of expletive <i>it</i>				
The genitive subject	6	0.6	0	0
The clausal subject	24	2.5	1	0.8
Copula clause denoting time	1	0.1	1	0.8
Omission of expletive <i>there</i>				
Existential sentence	47	4.9	7	8.1
Manifestation sentence	5	0.5	0	0
Quantifier clause	10	1.0	2	0
<b>Total</b>	93	9.6	11	8.9

Table 12: Expletive pronoun constructions in Finnish-speakers' compositions in Meriläinen (2010) and Nevanperä (2017)

The material featured two examples where Finnish-speaking students had omitted the pronoun *it*. In the first example student had omitted *it* in clausal subject position influenced the Finnish expression *suoraan sanottuna*:

- (130) To put bluntly, I would like to sleep more but I think it wouldn't change anything (pro to put *it* bluntly, cf. Fi. *suoraan sanottuna* 'bluntly put, to put bluntly') KAULU25

The second cases is a copula clause denoting time. Copula clauses are multifunctional clauses that are used with the verb *be* (Hakulinen et al 2005: 848). Unlike English, Finnish does not require a

dummy subject in copula clauses expressing time, which is arguably the source of transfer in the second example:

- (131) When is year 2025 and I'm teacher I'm very happy. (pro *when it is the year 2025*, cf. *Fi kun on vuosi 2025* 'when is year 2015') KAULU22

In addition to omissions of *it*, students had left out dummy *there* in 9 cases. 7 of the cases were existential there constructions. In these constructions students had omitted *there* next to various adverbials time or place:

- (132) In the world is many thousand different reality shows. (pro *there are thousands of different reality shows in the world*, cf. *Fi maailmassa on monia tuhansia reality-ohjelmia* 'world-INESSIVE be-3SG many thousand-PL-PAR reality show-PL-PAR') KAULU18

- (133) Nearly to our hotel was beach were we go everyday. (pro *there was a beach near to our hotel*, cf. *Fi lähellä hotelliamme oli ranta* 'near hotel-POS-PAR be-PAST beach') SAMKE14

The remaining 2 cases were quantifier clauses. Dummy subjects were omitted next to quantifiers *many* and *a lot* in these cases. Notably, both examples written were by the same student. In quantifier clauses the structure begins with the subject and is followed by a verb and the expression of quantity (Meriläinen 2010: 142).

- (134) The lakes *has* also alot of fish in them, mostly perch. (pro *there are also a lot of fish in the lakes*, cf. *Fi. järvissä on paljon kalaa* 'lake-INESSIVE-PL have a lot of fish-PAR') SAMKE2

- (135) The location *has* also many frisbeegolf places. (pro *there are also many frisbee golf courses there*, cf. *Fi. kohteessa on monia frisbeegolfpaikkoja* 'location-INESSIVE has many-PAR frisbee golf place-PL-PAR') SAMKE2

There were no examples of deviant expletive pronouns in Swedish-speakers' compositions. Swedish uses a dummy subject *det* in structures where English employs a dummy *it* or *there* in subject position (Hultman 2003: 274–275). Similarities between their Swedish and English are likely to cause positive transfer, which is arguably the primary explanation for the absence of deviant expletive pronouns in Swedish-speakers' compositions.

### 4.2.3 Subordinate clause patterns

	Meriläinen (2010) 96 787 words		Nevanperä (2017) 12 378 words	
Type	Number of instances	N/10 000	Number of instances	N/10 000
Subordinate interrogative clause	36	3.7	3	2.4
<i>That</i> -clause	39	4.0	5	4.0
<i>That</i> /subordinate interrogative clause	13	1.3	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>9.1</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6.5</b>

*Table 13: Subordinate clause patterns in Finnish-speakers' compositions in Meriläinen (2010) and Nevanperä (2017)*

Subordinate clauses were more frequent in Meriläinen (2010) than in first-year students' compositions. This was a surprising, and it is possible to give two explanations for this. Deviant subordinate clause patterns may be less frequent in first-year students' compositions because of the small number of compositions in my material, which affects the results. Another possibility is that first-year students prefer less complex sentences, meaning that there are overall fewer subordinate clauses in their compositions. Avoidance of difficult structures is one of the manifestations of transfer (Ellis 1997: 51, Ringbom 1988: 50–51, 108) and one possible explanation for the low figure of subordinate clauses in first-year students' compositions.

Meriläinen (2010: 150 ) grouped subordinate clause patterns into three classes: subordinate interrogative clauses, *that*-clauses, and *that*/subordinate interrogative clauses. Subordinate interrogatives were less frequent in my material than in Meriläinen's study. Meriläinen demonstrated that Finnish learners dropped the conjunction *if/whether* and used the order *verb + subject* in English subordinate clauses (ibid 151). However, the omission of *if* or *whether* did not occur in my material . All 3 deviant interrogatives related to word order where the Finnish verb + subject sequence appeared to be the source of transfer as example below illustrates:



- (136) We had no idea *where were we going* and the phones didn't work. (pro *where we were going*, cf. Fi. *minne olimme menossa* 'where were we going') KAULU20

As for *that*-clauses, these constructions were as frequent both in my study and in Meriläinen (2010).

In my material, non-standard use of *that*-clauses appeared to be influenced by Finnish expressions *se*, *että* and even *se*, *kun*.

- (137) I think one reason *that* I like playing is that I can also always be better on that. (pro *I think one reason why I like playing*, cf. Fi. *Yksi syy sille, että* 'one reason it-ALLATIVE that') SAMKE4

- (138) The best thing in bodybuilding is *that when I see my muscles growing* a little bit bigger... (pro (*the moment*) *when I see my muscles growing*, cf. Fi. *se, kun näen lihasteni kasvavan* 'that/it when see-1SG muscle-PL-POS growing') KAULU12

In addition, there were two cases where the students had used *that*-clauses instead of *to*-infinitives. Although English *that*-clauses are similar to Finnish *että*-clauses, they are used slightly differently. For example, English prefers *to*-infinitives to *that*-clauses in certain constructions where *that*-clauses or *että*-clauses would be perfectly acceptable in Finnish. Examples 139 and 140 illustrate this:

- (139) The last thing I'd want to say for my fellow students is *that try to make studying fun*. (pro *to try and make studying fun*) SAMKE16

- (140) I couldn't wait *that I can start my studies and kickboxing in Hämeenlinna* (pro *to start my studies and kickboxing in Hämeenlinna*) KAULU36

Subordinate clause patterns were less frequent in Swedish-students' compositions, which was expected as Swedish and English are more similar to each other even in terms of syntax. Yet one deviant subordinate clause was found:

- (141) The idea of "the more (and expensive) stuff you have, *the better person are you*", is really making me sad (pro *the better person you are*, cf. Swe. *ju dyrare grejer du har, desto bättre **är du** som person* 'the more expensive stuff you have, the better person are you') VÖS10

The example is classified here as subordinate interrogative clause although it is not the most typical example but concerns a reduced clause. Nevertheless, it appears to be caused by transfer from Swedish to English: Swedish uses an inverted word order in the similar *the...the* structure, which explains the deviant syntax in the subordinate clause.

#### 4.2.4 Future time

	Meriläinen (2010) 96 787 words		Nevanperä (2017) 12 378 words	
Type	Number of instances	N/10 000	Number of instances	N/10 000
Present tense + time adverbial	36	3.7	5	4.0
Present tense + contextual clues	16	1.7	12	9.7
Present tense + resultative aspect	11	1.1	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>6.5</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>13.7</b>

Table 14: Future time in Finnish-speakers' compositions in Meriläinen (2010) and Nevanperä (2017)

Students had omitted expressions of future time (*will, be going to*) in 17 instances and used the present tense instead. Deviant expressions of future time were more frequent in first-year students' compositions than in Meriläinen (2010) that focused on Finnish matriculants.

In Meriläinen's analysis, students omitted expressions of future time most frequently next to time adverbials (Meriläinen 2010: 161). 5 such examples were found in my material although these cases were not as common as the use of simple present with contextual clues. In all 5 examples students had used the present tense next to a *wh*-clause beginning with *when*:

(142) Actually we are going to travel again this spring **when** we go on a trip to Italy. (pro *are going*) SAMKE15

(143) I always thought that **when** I'm adult *I'm a teacher*. (pro *I will be/become a teacher*) KAULU22

There were 12 examples where the students had used the present tense alone without any time adverbials. Future time was signalled by the larger context in these examples. Some of the

composition topics concerned directly students' future plans and career aspirations, which may have affected the results. Examples illustrate present tense + contextual clues:

(144) There is no shortcut to success. If you want to be the greatest, *you have to give* everything you have. (pro *you will have to give*) KAULU4

(145) Lawyer Education is very long and hard. *You have to study* so much. (pro *you will have to study*) KAULU13

Omission of future time expressions was less frequent in Swedish-speakers' compositions as opposed to Finnish-speakers. Still, 4 omissions were found: 1 instance of a present + time adverbial (a *wh*-clause with *when*) and 3 examples of present tense + contextual clues. Future time is expressed somewhat similarly both in Swedish and English either with auxiliaries (*ska, kommer att*) or using the present tense. Swedish features an auxiliary *ska* that is syntactically close to the English *will*. However, *ska* often conveys an idea that the action taking place in the future is premediated or planned (Hultman 2003: 268). *Ska* can likewise express a sense of obligation similarly to the English *must* in some contexts (ibid. 269). Since the Swedish *ska* and English *will* are semantically different from each other, Swedish may prefer present tense in "neutral contexts" where English would use *will*. The semantic differences may cause transfer in Swedish-speakers' compositions as in examples 144 and 145:

(146) In Cancun the water is so clear and so pretty that when you see it, *you* get speechless. (pro *you will get speechless*, cf. Swe. *du blir ordlös* 'you become speechless') VÖS6

(147) *You become* one with the ocean, a part of the endless cycle, without disturbing it. (pro *you will become*, cf. Swe. *du blir* 'you become') VÖS20

#### 4.2.5 Prepositional constructions

Prepositions formed the largest category of syntactic transfer in this thesis and in Meriläinen's (2010) (see figures x and x in Appendix 7). Still, deviant use of prepositions was notably more frequent in first-year students' compositions than in Meriläinen's study. The frequency for prepositions was 37.0/10 000 words in Meriläinen (2010), while the corresponding figure in my

material was 56.6/10 000 words. There were 70 deviant prepositional constructions in Finnish-speakers' compositions.

Meriläinen (2010) discovered that Finnish learners of English both omitted prepositions and chose wrong prepositions. The division between omission and erroneous prepositions in Meriläinen (2010) and in this thesis is given below:

	Meriläinen (2010) 96 787 words		Nevanperä (2017) 12 378 words	
Type	Number of instances	N/10 000	Number of instances	N/10 000
Omitted preposition	184	19.0	31	24.2
Incorrect preposition	174	18.0	39	31.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>358</b>	<b>37.0</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>56.6</b>

*Table 15: Deviant prepositions and their omission in Meriläinen (2010) and Nevanperä (2017)*

Furthermore, a distribution of deviant prepositions is provided (for Finnish cases see section 3.5.1):

<b>Incorrect preposition</b>	<b>Meriläinen (2010)</b>	<b>Nevanperä (2017)</b>
Nominative	- (0%)	- (0%)
Genitive	2 (1.2%)	2 (5.1%)
Accusative	- (0%)	- (0%)
Partitive	- (0%)	- (0%)
Inessive	32 (18.4%)	9 (23.0%)
Elative	36 (20.7%)	4 (10.2%)
Illative	29 (16.7%)	13 (33.3%)
Adessive	20 (11.5%)	2 (5.1%)
Ablative	3 (1.7%)	0 (0%)
Allative	33 (19.0%)	6 (15.4%)
Translative	5 (2.9%)	0 (0%)
Essive	10 (5.8%)	2 (5.1%)
Adpositions	4 (2.3%)	1 (2.6%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>174 (100%)</b>	<b>39 (99.9%)</b>

*Table 16: Distribution of deviant prepositions in Meriläinen (2010) and Nevanperä (2017)*

Meriläinen showed that Finnish-speakers use English prepositions in a way that reflects Finnish case-endings (Meriläinen 2010: 164). A similar tendency was observed in first-year students' compositions. Students' choice of preposition was influenced by case-endings particularly with prepositions *in* and *to*. Non-standard use of preposition *in* and *to* appears to relate to Finnish inessive and illative cases that occurred most frequently in my material (23% and 33.3%)

Inessive (-ssa, -ssä) is used to mark location inside something, its closest equivalent in English being the preposition *in* (Karlsson 2009: 25–26). The main difference between Finnish inessive and *in* is that inessive is used even in various actions in the abstract sense (e.g. *istua puhelimessa*) (Hakulinen et al. 2005: 1190). In Meriläinen (2010) transfer caused by inessive related to both location and abstract uses of the case. Most inessive cases in my material concerned physical location (examples 148 and 149) though examples of abstract use were present as well (example 150):

(148) I haven't been *in* Paradise yet, but some day I will (pro *to*, cf. Fi. *paratiisissa* 'paradise-INESSIVE') KAULU33

(149) Our summer cottage would be *in* our own island or in a big piece of beach. (pro *on*, cf. Fi. *saaressa* 'island-INESSIVE') KAULU33

(150) A company creates an idea, turns it into a TV-show and attracts viewers to pay them so they can make more crazy stuff happen to the "real" people *in* the show. (pro *on the show*, cf. Fi. *tv-sarjassa* 'TV show-INESSIVE') SAMKE17

Illative cases, for their part, indicate movement to a place or "an eternal source" (Hakulinen et al. 2005: 1188, Meriläinen 2010: 178). The equivalent of illative case in English is (*in*)*to*. In first-year students' compositions some of the deviant constructions relate to physical movement as in example 149. More typically, however, language transfer can be attributed to Finnish phrases such as *perustua johonkin* that required illative cases (examples 151–152)). In this respect my results were very similar to Meriläinen's (2010: 178–179).

(151) After you have done all that you have arrived *to* my paradise. (pro *at*, cf. Fi. *saapua paratiisiin* 'arrive paradise-ILLATIVE') KAULU16

(152) When you put so much time and effort *to* something, there really isn't the energy and motivation for studies. (pro *in*, cf. Fi. *laittaa energiaa johonkin* 'put energy something-ILLATIVE') KAULU4

(153) I played horribly and I was really disappointed *to* my showing. (pro *with*, cf. Fi. *pettynyt tulokseen* 'disappointed result-ILLATIVE) KAULU27

As for elative cases, there is a considerable difference between my results and Meriläinen's. Elatives (-sta, -stä) formed 20.7% of wrong prepositions in Meriläinen (2010) but amounted to only 7.7% in first-year students' compositions. Elatives express movement out of somewhere (Hakulinen et al. 2005: 1190, Karlsson 2008 25–25), being close to prepositions *from* and *about*. Elatives occur even when marking "abstract source or origin" and relate to experiencing something (Meriläinen 2010: 177–178). The majority of elative cases in my material concerned expressing an opinion and being interested in something (examples 152 and 153). One abstract source was found as well (example 154):

(154) I spend much time playing games or discussing *about* games with my friends. (pro *discussing games*, Fi. cf. *keskustella peleistä* 'discuss games-ELATIVE') KAULU7

(155) Same time I interested *about* sports. (pro *in* cf. Fi. *kiinnostunut urheilusta* 'interested sports-ELATIVE) KAULU36

(156) I have got my best friends *from* the choir... (pro *at*, cf. Fi. *kuorosta* 'choir-ELATIVE') SAMKE15

In addition to inessive and illatives, allatives (-lle) were rather common in Finnish-speakers' compositions (15.4% of prepositions). Allatives express proximity or location on a surface (*sohvalle*, *huoltoasemalle*) (Hakulinen et al. 2005: 1191), corresponding to preposition (*on*)*to*. Allatives appear to have led to non-standard uses *to* as in example 157:

(157) If you ever want to go there you have to walk into the forest, pass between two giant stones and climb *to* the top of a hill. (pro *on*, cf. Fi. *mäen huipulle* 'top of hill-ALLATIVE) KAULU16

Allatives can even occur in a more abstract sense as in the expression *mennä lenkille*, or to mark a receiver of an object or action (Meriläinen 2010: 180). First-year students' compositions featured

examples of even these more specific cases. In the sense of someone receiving something the preposition *to* is often replaced with *for* (ibid) as in example 157:

(158) We went *to* the boat trip. (pro *on*, cf. Fi. *mennä veneretkelle* 'go boat trip-ALLATIVE') KAULU23

(159) I feed the bananas *for* her. (pro *to*, cf. Fi. *syöttää hänelle* 'feed her-ALLATIVE') KAULU23

In the two adessive cases (-lla, -llä) students had overgeneralised the use of *in*. Meriläinen has noted that Finnish-speakers may extend the use of *in* to all English expressions that denote physical location even if the most typical equivalent of adessive is *on* (2010: 179). Both examples concerned the expression *at the gym*:

(160) Working out is fun too because all my best friends are *in* the same gym. (pro *at*, cf. Fi. *salilla* 'gym-ADESSIVE) KAULU12

(161) My life changed few months ago when I started to go *in* a gym (pro *at*, cf. Fi. *salilla*, 'gym-ADESSIVE') KAULU15

In addition to locative cases, my material included one example where transfer was influenced by an adposition and two genitive cases. Adpositions are expressions that are used in addition to prepositions in order to supplement their expressive possibilities (Hakulinen et al. 2005: 676). Adpositions relate typically to location (*yläpuolella*, *vieressä*) or to a sequence in time (*ennen kuutta*, *kolmesta alkaen*) (ibid). The adposition concerned the expressions *kohti*:

(162) If you have, you know how I feel *towards* music. (pro *about*, cf. Fi. *kohtaan*, 'towards') SAMKE15

Similarly to adpositions, Finnish genitive cases can be a source of erroneous preposition although this is rare (Meriläinen 2010: 176). Two such examples were found: in examples 161 and 162.

Finnish genitive appears to have affected the choice of preposition *of* in these examples:

(163) Music is my passion *of* life. (pro *for*, cf. Fi. *elämäni rakkaus* 'life-GENITIVE love') KAULU8

- (164) In a secondary school I was best *of* my class and I earned straight A:s. (pro *in*, cf. Fi. luokkani paras ‘class-GENITIVE best’) KAULU36

Also, Finnish-speaking students left out prepositions in expressions where they were not used in Finnish. Wrong prepositions were more frequent than omission of prepositions in my material unlike in Meriläinen (2010) where omission of prepositions occurred slightly more often than non-standard use of prepositions. In my material, first-year students omitted prepositions particularly in expressions *think about* and *listen to*, which can be attributed to Finnish *ajatella* and *kuunnella*:

- (165) When I play floorball or run in a forest I don’t *think* anything else. (pro *think about*, cf. Fi. *ajatella* ‘think’) KAULU3

- (166) I love *listen* it. (pro *listen to*, cf. Fi. *kuunnella* ‘listen’) KAULU8

Swedish-speaking students experienced fewer difficulties with prepositions than their Finnish-speakers. This was expected as Swedish prepositions are similar to the ones used in English although there are some differences. Indeed, there were 13 cases where student had overgeneralised the use of English prepositions into inappropriate contexts. The cases concerned particularly prepositions *on* and *in* that are relatively similar to Swedish prepositions *på* and *i*:

- (167) Often I feel that the time runs away too fast and *in* the end of the day many of the days tasks are left undone. (pro *at the end of the day*, cf. Swe. *i slutet av dagen* ‘in the end of the day’) VÖS5
- (168) I am also expected to go to the gym *on* my freetime to get stronger to the football. (pro *in*, cf. Swe *på fritiden*, ‘on my free time’) VÖS11
- (169) Giving the average school age finn a cost free elementary school *on* the taxpayers exence. (pro *at*, cf. Swe *på någons bekostnad*, ‘on someone’s expense’) VÖS18
- (170) I have worked out in a gym from time to time *in* 2-3 years...(pro *for*, cf. Swe *i 2–3 år*, ‘in 2–3 years’) VÖS17

## 5 Discussion of results and conclusion

This thesis analysed lexical and syntactic transfer in Finnish upper secondary school students’ English compositions. Its aim was to investigate how language transfer influences first-year



students' written English, and which forms transfer takes in their texts. The material used in the analysis comprised 72 compositions: 53 by Finnish-speaking students and 19 by Swedish-speaking students. The results of the analysis were compared to Meriläinen's (2010) diachronic study of transfer. Meriläinen's material consisted of Finnish learners' Matriculation compositions in English. The purpose of the comparison was to study whether there are differences between my results and Meriläinen's findings: the hypothesis was that language transfer is more frequent in first-years students' compositions. The thesis also commented differences between Finnish- and Swedish-speaking students in my material.

The analysis showed that transfer took many forms and affected both lexicon and syntax. Language transfer was more frequent in first-year students' compositions than in Meriläinen (2010), particularly on the level of syntax and two levels of lexical knowledge (*word forms* and *word meanings*). The finding supports the claim that language proficiency and language transfer are intertwined. The results suggest that greater language proficiency means, in general, less language transfer. Similarly, it appears that Finnish-speakers' L1 causes considerable negative transfer. The high frequency of negative transfer can be attributed to the lack of similarities between Finnish and English in lexicon and syntax, which results in unidiomatic constructions.

Lexical transfer was most frequent on the level *word forms* in first-year students' compositions (52% of lexical transfer). Students struggled typically with English compound words, capital of letters occurring in names of languages and nationalities, and with certain English consonants that are rare in Finnish. Students spelt English compound words without spaces and preferred lowercase letters with languages and nationalities. Some English consonants, such as *c* and *q*, were replaced by more other letters (*s* and *k*) that are more typical in the Finnish orthography. The findings were similar to Meriläinen (2010) although word forms comprised a greater proportion of lexical transfer in my material. The high frequency of word forms can perhaps be explained by language proficiency: students who are at the beginning of their upper secondary

school English studies may be expected to have minor difficulties with English spelling, capital letters and the use of singular/plural forms. However, many of these manifestations appear to decrease in frequency as students' language skills improve.

*Word meanings* amounted to 30% of lexical transfer in my study and in Meriläinen (2010). Manifestations of transfer on this level were loan translations and semantic extensions. First-year students translated Finnish compound words and idiomatic expressions directly and applied them to their English writing. They also encountered problems with the semantics of Finnish and English words. Many Finnish words were less specific in meaning than the corresponding words in English, which caused negative transfer. Typical examples of semantic extensions were *sopia* 'fit, suit' and *tulla* 'become, come' that had two translation equivalents in English. My results were largely similar to Meriläinen's findings, but first-year students' compositions also featured examples where the verb *be* was used instead of *become* when referring to future time. These instances were less obvious cases of transfer, but were classified as semantic extension as the Finnish *olla* 'be' can be used even in the sense 'become' (e.g. I want to *be* teacher, cf. Fi *haluan olla opettaja* 'I want to be teacher' [in the future]).

An interesting difference in my thesis and in Meriläinen (2010) was that *word use* was as frequent in both studies. This was surprising as one would assume word use, which relates to English function words and collocates, to be more frequent in first-year students' compositions because of language proficiency. One can give two explanations for this unanticipated finding.

Firstly, it may be that functional transfer was less frequent in first-year students' compositions because of my sample size. The small number of student compositions could affect the results, meaning that functional transfer was underrepresented in my material. This is a likely explanation as the number of compositions written by Finnish-speakers was 53 – a not particularly extensive sample size.

The second explanation concerns students' command of English. Meriläinen (2010) discovered that the use of function words had decreased diachronically from 1995 to 2005. As the level of English in Finland has constantly improved, one could suggest that functional transfer has continued to diminish and first-year students' today struggle as much (or as little) with functional transfer than older students in Meriläinen (2010). This claim is, nevertheless, difficult to verify and less likely than the first explanation.

To continue with syntactic transfer, the general observation was that syntactic transfer was more common in first-year students' compositions than in Meriläinen (2010). The syntactic analysis focused on passives, expletive pronoun constructions, future time, subordinate clause patterns/*that*-clauses, and prepositions. Syntactic transfer was most marked with prepositions. First-year students' choices of prepositions were influenced by the Finnish case system, which caused students to overgeneralise the use of prepositions, particularly *in* and *to*, to untypical contexts. First-year students likewise omitted prepositions as prepositions do not exist in Finnish. Omissions occurred likewise with expletive pronouns *it* and *there* – Finnish has no corresponding constructions featuring dummy subjects. Also, present tense was commonly used instead of English *will* or *be going to* as Finnish prefers present tense when referring to the future. In these respects the results resembled Meriläinen's (2010) findings.

Interestingly, language transfer appeared to cause *avoidance* of certain constructions – particularly passives and *that*-clauses (Fi. 'että'-clauses). Only one deviant passive was found, and the majority of compositions were written solely in the active voice. Passives are used differently in Finnish and English, meaning that Finnish-speaking students may perceive English passives as challenging structures they rather avoid. Compositions topics may have influenced this as well: many of the topics concerned personal topics where the need for passives was perhaps less acute.

The low number of passives was expected, but it was surprising that first-year students' compositions featured few *that*-clauses. Non-standard *that*-clauses were common in Meriläinen

(2010) but occurred rather rarely in my material. First-year students favoured simple sentence structures, which can account for the low figure of *that*-clauses. It is not completely clear whether students have actively avoided *that*-clauses or simply preferred simpler structures for other reasons. Still, students may have avoided *that*-clauses if they regard that they are too different from *että*-clauses in Finnish. Earlier studies have stated that avoidance is one manifestation of language transfer (Ellis 1997, Ringbom 1988), which gives support for this suggestion.

As for differences between speakers of Finnish and Swedish, the results mainly supported previous research where transfer has been less common among Swedish-speakers. Research has indicated that similarities between Swedish and English facilitate acquisition of English. Swedish-speakers indeed appeared benefit from their L1: transfer was less frequent in their compositions on the level of *word meanings*, *word use*, and *syntax*. The results can be attributed to *positive transfer* from Swedish to English. Many features of English included in the analysis, such as expletive pronoun constructions and prepositions, are not found in Finnish but are present in Swedish. Swedish-speakers had less trouble with lexical and syntactic features that had equivalents in Swedish, resulting in that their compositions were generally more target-like.

*Word forms* were the only area where transfer was more frequent in Swedish-speakers' compositions. Swedish-speakers struggled with the spelling of English compound words and omitted capital letters similarly to Finnish-speakers. Also, they substituted English words more typically with words from their L1 than Finnish-speakers. These findings were unexpected as one would assume Swedish-speakers to gain from the resemblance between English and Swedish. Yet it appears that the proximity between students' L1 and the target language is not always a facilitating factor. Ringbom has presented similar results, stating that Swedish-speakers often have more difficulties with English spelling than their Finnish-speaking peers (1987: 90–91).

Based on the results, it is possible to give some suggestions for language teaching. Swedish- and Finnish-speakers' native languages influence their English writing in differently, which should

be taken into account in teaching. Finnish-speakers encountered negative transfer with a range of areas in lexicon and syntax. Fortunately, it appears that transfer diminishes considerably with many areas, such as English word forms, when the results of the analysis are compared to Meriläinen (2010). The areas where negative transfer appears most persistent are English word meanings and prepositions. It might be useful for first-year students if semantic differences between Finnish and English words, expressions, and idioms would be spelled out explicitly. Students may not always perceive that Finnish and English words differ in their semantic ranges (e.g. *sopia* corresponds to both *fit* and *suit*) and may transfer Finnish expression word by word to their English writing. Students should be made aware of the fact there is not always a one-to-one correspondence between Finnish and English: the direct translation of Finnish expressions into English is rarely the best of strategies. The semantic differences between prepositions and cases should likewise be considered: students may have learned that *in* corresponds to the Finnish inessive (-ssa, -ssä, 'inside'), but this is not always the case.

Swedish-speaking students benefit from the similarities between English and Swedish, but similarities can cause negative transfer as well. Notably, Swedish-speakers had more difficulties with English word forms than Finnish-speakers, and they used more substitutions. It would perhaps be worthwhile to highlight the differences between English and Swedish word forms and to draw attention to deceptive cognates between the two languages. Similarly, subtle differences between Swedish and English prepositions should be drawn into attention as this is another area where Swedish-speakers experienced considerable negative transfer.

In conclusion, Finnish-speakers' L1 influenced their English writing both on the levels of lexicon and syntax. Transfer was particularly frequent with word forms and prepositions. In addition to deviant structures, transfer was manifested as avoidance of passives and subordinate clauses, which was unexpected. Language distance affected transfer considerably: speakers of Swedish appeared to benefit from the linguistic proximity although similarities caused even

negative transfer with English word forms. Language transfer was more frequent in first-year students compositions than in Finnish learners' Matriculation compositions in English. The analysis provided interesting findings, but the results and figures are based on a small amount of data. It would be worthwhile to expand the study and estimate whether the results apply to a larger population. At present the results are suggestions, and more research would be needed to verify the results.

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## 7 Appendices

### Appendix 1: Questionnaire form for Finnish-speaking students

#### TAUSTATIETOLOMAKE

Sukupuoli		
mies <input type="checkbox"/>	nainen <input type="checkbox"/>	jokin muu/en halua sanoa <input type="checkbox"/>

Virallinen äidinkieli		
suomi <input type="checkbox"/>	ruotsi <input type="checkbox"/>	jokin muu kieli (mikä?) <input type="checkbox"/>

Kotona käytettävä kieli		
suomi <input type="checkbox"/>	ruotsi <input type="checkbox"/>	jokin muu kieli (mikä?) <input type="checkbox"/>

Koulussa käytettävä kieli		
suomi <input type="checkbox"/>	ruotsi <input type="checkbox"/>	jokin muu kieli (mikä?) <input type="checkbox"/>

Kuinka kauan olet opiskellut englantia?					
6-7 vuotta (A1-kieli) <input type="checkbox"/>	5-6 vuotta (A2-kieli) <input type="checkbox"/>	2-3 vuotta (B1-kieli) <input type="checkbox"/>	1-2 vuotta (B2-kieli) <input type="checkbox"/>	0-1 vuotta (B3-kieli) <input type="checkbox"/>	enemmän kuin 6-7 vuotta <input type="checkbox"/>

Kotipaikkakunta

#### Tietoja tutkimuksen tekijästä ja tutkimuksesta

Olen Tuomo Nevanperä, kieltenopiskelija ja englannin ja ruotsin aineenopettajaharjoittelija Tampereen yliopistosta. Englannin aineitasi käytetään tutkimusaineistona englannin kielen pro gradu -tutkimuksessani, joka käsittelee lukiolaisten äidinkielen vaikutusta ja näkymistä englannin aineissa. Tutkimus tehdään nimettömänä eikä tutkimuksesta voida tunnistaa vastaajia tai näiden nimiä missään tutkimuksen vaiheessa. Tietoja tai esseitä ei myöskään luovuteta eteenpäin ulkopuolisille tahoille. Antamalla aineesi tutkimustarkoituksiin tuet kielitieteellistä tutkimusta, joka edistää lukion englannin opetusta sekä opetuksen ja oppimateriaalien kehittämistä. Kiitos yhteistyöstäsi.

## Appendix 2: Questionnaire form for Swedish-speaking students

### BAKGRUNDSINFORMATIONSBANKETT

Kön		
man <input type="checkbox"/>	kvinna <input type="checkbox"/>	annat/vill inte säga <input type="checkbox"/>

Officiellt modersmål		
finska <input type="checkbox"/>	svenska <input type="checkbox"/>	något annat språk (vilket?) <input type="checkbox"/>

Språket som används hemma		
finska <input type="checkbox"/>	svenska <input type="checkbox"/>	något annat språk (vilket?) <input type="checkbox"/>

Språket som används i skolan		
finska <input type="checkbox"/>	svenska <input type="checkbox"/>	något annat språk (vilket?) <input type="checkbox"/>

Hur länge har du studerat engelska?					
6-7 år (A1-språket) <input type="checkbox"/>	5-6 år (A2-språket) <input type="checkbox"/>	2-3 år (B1-språket) <input type="checkbox"/>	1-2 år (B2-språket) <input type="checkbox"/>	0-1 år (B3-språket) <input type="checkbox"/>	längre än 6-7 år <input type="checkbox"/>

Hemort

### Information om forskningen och forskaren

Jag är Tuomo Nevanperä, språkstuderande och ämneslärarpraktikant i engelska och svenska från Tammerfors universitet. Din uppsats kommer att användas som forskningsmaterial i min pro gradu avhandling som handlar om hur gymnasielevnas modersmål påverkar deras skriftliga kommunikation på engelska och hur inflytande från elevernas modersmål syns i deras uppsatser. Hela forskningsprocessen görs anonymt, vilket betyder att det är omöjligt att igenkänna respondenter eller deras namn. Alla uppgifter och uppsatser betraktas som konfidentiella och kommer inte att utlämnas till tredje part. Genom att låta använda din uppsats som forskningsmaterial stöder du språkvetenskaplig forskning som främjar gymnasieundervisning i engelska och utveckling av språkundervisning och läromaterialer. Tack för ditt samarbete!

## Appendix 3: Cases of lexical transfer in Finnish-speaking students' compositions

### Substitutions: 2

1. My mom is working at the x-ray so there comes the idea to be *radiologi*. (pro *radiologist*). SAMKE3
2. I don't compete anymore because of the (rasitusvamma?) I have in my leg and because of my studies (pro *repetitive strain injury*) SAMKE4

### Relexifications: 0

### Orthographic transfer: 46

1. Almost every Crossfit *exersize* involves some form of a barbell movement, whether it is squatting heavy weights to improve strength, or lighter weighted durability training. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *exercise*, [c] replaced with [s]) KAULU1 WRONG LETTER
2. Sports and all kinds of physical activities will keep you healthy and your *bodyfunctions* normal.(pro *bodily functions*, 3 orthographic transfer, cf. Fi *elintoiminnot*) KAULU4 COMPOUND WORD
3. That's almost three hours *aday*. (3 ortographic transfer, cf. Fi *päivässä*) KAULU4 COMPOUND WORD
4. Also befor *desiding* which style is for you, you have to know your skill level and *what* boarding brand *fits* for you. (3 orthographic transfer (c replaced by s); KAULU5 WRONG LETTER
5. In conclusion there are good and bad things about gaming but I still enjoy it *alot* (3 orthographic transfer, pro *a lot*, cf. Fi *paljon*) KAULU7 COMPOUND WORD
6. I start to think: "Should I stop right now and start to *consentrare* on studing? (3 ortographic transfer, pro *concentrate*, c replaced with s) KAULU8 WRONG LETTER
7. I have three hobbys at the moment. One is badminton and the other two are gold and *discgolf*. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *disc golf*, cf. Fi *frisbeegolf*) KAULU11 COMPOUND WORD
8. In summer I play *discgolf*. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *disc golf*, cf. Fi *frisbeegolf*) KAULU11 COMPOUND WORD
9. *Discgolf* is like normal golf but you use Frisbee instead of ball and club. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *disc golf*, cf. Fi *frisbeegolf*) KAULU11 COMPOUND WORD
10. Rules are pretty much same in *discgolf* and golf. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *disc golf*, cf. Fi *frisbeegolf*) KAULU11 COMPOUND WORD
11. I play *discgolf* only in summer because *i'm* not so good at it. (pro *disc golf*, cf. *frisbeegolf*) KAULU11 COMPOUND WORD
12. I play *discgolf* with my friends or with my brother. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *disc golf*, cf. Fi *frisbeegolf*) KAULU11 COMPOUND WORD

13. I am *littlebit* sick right now and I am really miserable because I can't go to the gym. (pro *a little bit*, cf. Fi vähän, hieman) KAULU15 COMPOUND WORD
14. I play volleyball and dance *folkdance*. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *folk dance*, cf. Fi kansantanssi) KAULU19 COMPOUND WORD
15. *Folkdance* I have danced 13 years, and volleyboll I have played now seven years. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *folk dance*, cf. Fi kansantanssi) KAULU19 COMPOUND WORD
16. Friday and *saturday* are the only days I have freetime. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *Saturday*, cf. Fi lauantai) KAULU19 OMISSION OF CAPITAL LETTER
17. Friday and saturday are the only days I have *freetime*. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *free time*, cf. Fi vapaa-aika) KAULU19 COMPOUND WORD
18. Volleyboll trainings I have three times in a week and *folkdance* two times (3 orthographic transfer, pro *folk dance*, cf. Fi kansantanssi) KAULU19 COMPOUND WORD
19. *Folkdance* is always been to me the importantest hobby. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *folk dance*, cf. Fi kansantanssi) KAULU19 COMPOUND WORD
20. If everyday would be a hour longer we had seven hourse more *inaweek*. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *in a week*, cf. Fi viikossa) KAULU21 COMPOUND WORD
21. Music takes most of my *freetime* (3 orthographic transfer, pro *free time*, cf. Fi vapaa-aika) KAULU24 COMPOUND WORD
22. As a student I have limited *sparetime* (3 orthographic transfer, pro *spare time*, cf. Fi vapaa-aika, joutoaika) KAULU25 COMPOUND WORD
23. Because I study many different subjects example four languages *finnish*, swedish, english and russian. (pro *Finnish*, cf. Fi suomi) KAULU25 OMISSION OF CAPITAL LETTER
24. Because I study many different subjects example four languages finnish, *swedish*, english and russian. (pro *Finnish*, cf. Fi ruotsi) KAULU25 OMISSION OF CAPITAL LETTER
25. Because I study many different subjects example four languages finnish, swedish, *english* and russian. (pro *Finnish*, cf. Fi englanti) KAULU25 OMISSION OF CAPITAL LETTER
26. Because I study many different subjects example four languages finnish, swedish, english and *russian*. (pro *Finnish*, cf. Fi venäjä) KAULU25 OMISSION OF CAPITAL LETTER
27. 2015 was my "rookie year" as I started to attend sanctioned event around *South-Finland* (3 orthographic transfer, pro *Southern Finland*, cf. Fi Etelä-Suomi) KAULU27 COMPOUND WORD
28. Yes, a simple country in the *Far-East*. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *Far East*, cf. Fi Kaukoitää, Itä-Aasia) KAULU29 COMPOUND WORD
29. But if you happen to be a normal human being as myself step outside of your own comfy room and go to a club or even start *teamsport hobby*. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *team sport*, cf. Fi joukkuelaji) KAULU30 COMPOUND WORD
30. Now that you have found someone special and you guys have hopefully get eachothers *phonenumbers*, it's time for my second golden rule. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *phone numbers*, cf. Fi puhelinnumerot) KAULU30 COMPOUND WORD

31. Now that you have found someone special and you guys have hopefully get *eachothers* phonenumbers, it's time for my second golden rule. KAULU30 COMPOUND WORD (pro *each other's*, cf. Fi *toistenne*)
32. Not everyone likes to spend a minute of their *freetime* for computer games but more and more people find it relaxing and enjoyable freetime activity, myself as well. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *free time*, cf. Fi *vapaa-aika*) KAULU32 COMPOUND WORD
33. I had *basketballgame* on last Saturday. (3 orthographic transfer, cf. Fi. *koripallo* *koripallo-ottelu*) SAMKE1 COMPOUND WORD
34. The lakes has also *alot* of fish in them, mostly perch. (3 orthographic transfer, cf. Fi. *paljon*) SAMKE2 COMPOUND WORD
35. The location has also many *frisbeegolf* places. (3 orthographic transfer, cf. Fi. *frisbeegolf*) SAMKE2 COMPOUND WORD
36. But then, little by little, coaches started to teach us correct swimming *tecknik* (pro *technique*, 3 orthographic transfer, replacement of *q* with *k*) SAMKE4 WRONG LETTER
37. I can't go orienteering every day so there are lots of running, *crosscountryskiing*, nordic-walking, cyckling and gym trainings in my week. (pro *cross-country skiing*, cf. Fi *murtomaahiihto*) SAMKE5 COMPOUND WORD
38. I can't go orienteering every day so there are lots of running, *crosscountryskiing*, *nordic-walking*, cyckling and gym trainings in my week. (pro *Nordic walking*, cf. Fi *sauvakävely*) SAMKE5 COMPOUND WORD
39. After a long *schoolday* nothing is better than go training... (pro *school day*, cf. Fi *koulupäivä*) SAMKE5 COMPOUND WORD
40. ...last year my team brought home junior *finnish* championchips (pro *Finnish*, cf. Fi *suomalainen*) SAMKE10 OMISSION OF CAPITAL LETTER
41. *alotof* people picture it [a paradise] as a beautiful place where everyone is happy (pro *a lot of*, cf. Fi *monet*) SAMKE13 COMPOUND WORD
42. Some other day I take a new *acryle-nails* were was pic of some fruits. (pro *acryl nails*, 3 orthographic transfer, cf. Fi *akryylikynnet*) SAMKE14 COMPOUND WORD
43. When ever I hear music it makes me want to dance (pro *whenever*, 3 orthographic transfer, cf. Fi *aina kun*) SAMKE15 COMPOUND WORD
44. ...it's like the *rythm* went right trough my body (pro *rhythm*, 3 orthographic transfer, cf. Fi *rytmi*) SAMKE15 WRONG LETTER
45. People are being cheated by the large *TV-companies* (pro *TV companies*, 3 orthographic transfer, cf. Fi. *televisioyhtiöt TV-yhtiöt*) SAMKE17 COMPOUND WORD
46. A company creates an idea, turn it into a *TV-show* (pro *TV show*, 3 orthographic transfer, cf. Fi *televisio-ohjelma*, *TV-ohjelma*) SAMKE17 COMPOUND WORD

### First-person pronoun *I* (not considered as orthographic transfer): 21

1. I am trying my hardest but my brains can't register the words *i* see. (3 orthographic transfer) KAULU4 FIRST-PERSON PRONOUN *I*



2. So *i* started badminton. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *I* cf. Fi *minä* (with a small letter))  
KAULU11 FIRST-PERSON PRONOUN *I*
3. I play *discgolf* only in summer because *i'm* not so good at it. KAULU11 FIRST-PERSON PRONOUN *I*
4. That's why *i* play it. . (3 orthographic transfer, pro *I* cf. Fi *minä* (with a small letter))  
KAULU11 FIRST-PERSON PRONOUN *I*
5. I used to play floorball but I didn't team that *i* could play with. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *I* cf. Fi *minä* (with a small letter)) KAULU11 FIRST-PERSON PRONOUN *I*
6. I don't want wake up in the morning and first things in my mind is: "oh no, *i* don't want to"  
(3 orthographic transfer , pro *I* cf. Fi *minä* (with a small letter)) KAULU13 FIRST-PERSON PRONOUN *I*
7. That dream started when *i* watched TV with my parents and I watched some TV show where was a woman. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *I*;) KAULU13 FIRST-PERSON PRONOUN *I*
8. ...*i* personally think that Finnish teachers are one of the most important reasons due to the success of Finnish school (3 orthographic transfer, pro *I*, cf. Fi *minä*) KAULU28  
FIRST-PERSON PRONOUN *I*
9. Even if *i* earn straight A's *i* have to work hard every day. (3 orthographic transfer x2, pro *I*, cf. Fi *minä*) KAULU28 FIRST-PERSON PRONOUN *I*
10. Even if *i* earn straight A's *i* have to work hard every day. (3 orthographic transfer x2, pro *I*, cf. Fi *minä*) KAULU28 FIRST-PERSON PRONOUN *I*
11. In my opinion, *i* have the best school in the world. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *I*, cf. Fi *minä*) KAULU28 FIRST-PERSON PRONOUN *I*
12. I started TeamGym when *i* was eleven years old. (pro *I*, 3 orthographic transfer, cf. Fi *minä*) SAMKE10 FIRST-PERSON PRONOUN *I*
13. I haven't found a place *i* could call paradise... (pro *I*, 3 orthographic transfer, cf. Fi *minä*) SAMKE13 FIRST-PERSON PRONOUN *I*
14. ...and *i* don't think such place exists in the current world (pro *I*, 3 orthographic transfer, cf. Fi *minä*) SAMKE13 FIRST-PERSON PRONOUN *I*
15. At the airport *i* didn't knew where *i* was actually going. (pro *I*, 3 orthographic transfer, cf. Fi *minä*) SAMKE14 FIRST-PERSON PRONOUN *I*
16. At the airport *i* didn't knew where *i* was actually going. (pro *I*, 3 orthographic transfer, cf. Fi *minä*) SAMKE14 FIRST-PERSON PRONOUN *I*
17. ...in the plane *i* had a own TV (pro *I*, 3 orthographic transfer, cf. Fi *minä*) SAMKE14 FIRST-PERSON PRONOUN *I*
18. ...where *i* wach some movies (pro *I*, 3 orthographic transfer, cf. Fi *minä*) SAMKE14 FIRST-PERSON PRONOUN *I*
19. At the beach *i* ate corn with salt. (pro *I*, 3 orthographic transfer, cf. Fi *minä*) SAMKE14 FIRST-PERSON PRONOUN *I*
20. After that *i* handdle snake on my arms. (pro *I*, 3 orthographic transfer, cf. Fi *minä*) SAMKE14 FIRST-PERSON PRONOUN *I*
21. Some other day *i* take a new acryle-nails were was pic of some fruits. (pro *I*, 3 orthographic transfer, cf. Fi *minä*) SAMKE14 FIRST-PERSON PRONOUN *I*

## Phonetic transfer: 17

1. I would *propably* just sleep little more and do things that I love for other half of the time. (4 phonological transfer [p] vs [b], pro *probably*) KAULU2 PHONEME
2. It was good *compination*. (4 phonological transfer, pro *combination*) KAULU3  
PHONEME
3. You have to spend so much time in school and focus so much to it that you have to be a great talent to reach something *sports vise*. (4 phonological transfer, [v] vs [w]) KAULU4  
PHONEME
4. There is no rainforests without spiders, no oceans without sharks and *probaply* a monkey has stolen my book (4 phonetic transfer [p] vs [b], pro *probably*) KAULU26  
PHONEME
5. Finally I *decited* to give disc golf a chance and on the same day I went to buy my first own discs. (4 phonetic transfer, pro *decided*, Finnish has no opposition between [t] and [d] → [d] replaced by [t] KAULU27 PHONEME
6. In my opinion, the best in Fifa 16 is Barclays Premier League with its song, *crafics* and fully realistic stadiums. (4 phonetic transfer, no phonetic opposition between [g] and [k] → Finns tend to hear a voiced sound [g] as [k], sometimes carried on even to writing) KAULU32  
PHONEME
7. I am *pointcard* in my team (3 ortographic transfer, cf. Finnish *pelintekijä*. Phonetic transfer (pro *point guard*, [k] vs. [g]) SAMKE1 PHONEME
8. I also have to study *teoretical* music (pro *theoretical music*, 4 phonetic transfer) SAMKE4  
PHONEME
9. ...there are so many *thinks what* you had to solve before you can come to high school (pro *things*, 4 phonetic transfer, [k] vs [g]. SAMKE6 PHONEME
10. Second *thinks* is how you can keep going if you had had hard day in school... (pro *thing*, 4 phonetic transfer) SAMKE6 PHONEME
11. ...and after that you have hard traing and after that you should do your *homeworks* and *everythink* else I will be sure to you will face the burn out on sometime. (pro *everything*, 4 phonetic transfer) SAMKE6 PHONEME
12. I guess there ar multible reasons why people watch *tose* programs (pro *those*, 4 phonetic transfer, [t] vs [th]) SAMKE9 PHONEME
13. We have *tree* event trampet, tumbling and floor. (pro *three*, 4 phonetic transfer, [t] vs [th]) SAMKE10
14. ...last year my team brought home junior finnish championchips *pronce* metal. (pro *bronze*, 4 phonetic transfer, [p] vs [b]) SAMKE10 PHONEME
15. ...last year my team brought home junior finnish championchips pronce *metal*. (pro *medal*, 4 phonetic transfer, [t] vs [d]. SAMKE10 PHONEME
16. I don't *recret* anything (pro *regret*, 4 phonetic transfer, [k] vs [g]) SAMKE10  
PHONEME

17. ...it's like the rythm went right *trough* my body (pro *through*, 4 phonetic transfer, [th] vs. [t])  
 SAMKE15 PHONEME

## Morphological transfer: 18

1. The *foundation* of Crossfit is highly based on different barbell movements. (pro *foundations*, cf. Fi *perusta* 'a foundation') KAULU1
2. I am trying my hardest but my *brains* can't register the words i see (pro *my brain*, cf. Fi *aivot* 'brain-PL') KAULU4
3. As said, park riding can be very dangerous if you don't know what you're doing or you don't have the right *equipments*. (pro *equipment*, cf. Fi *välineet*, *varusteet* 'equipment-PL') KAULU5
4. Most of time in my free time goes for *school works*, hobbies and for jobs. (pro *school work*, cf. Fi *koulutehtävät* 'school work-PL') KAULU18
5. People have too much stereotypes of *scout*. (pro *the Scouts*, cf. Fi *partio*) KAULU20
6. I've learned hundreds of life skills in *scout*. (pro *the Scouts*, cf. Fi *partio*) KAULU20
7. People were so kind and everyone wanted to help each *others* (pro *each other*, cf. Fi *toisiaan*) KAULU23
8. Now that you have found someone special and you guys have hopefully get *eachothers* phonenumbers, it's time for my second golden rule. (pro *each other's*, cf. Fi *toistenne*) KAULU30
9. Then I will hope that my dream become true and I would be *a police*. (pro *a police officer* (police – plural or the entire organisation), cf. Fi *poliisi*) KAULU36
10. Best sides of being *police* you can really help people and all days are totally different. (pro *a police officer* (police – plural or the entire organisation), cf. Fi *poliisi* (singular or the entire organisation), *poliisit* (plural)) KAULU36
11. I want to become better orienteerer so I have many *trainings* every week. (pro *many training sessions*, *much training*, cf. Fi *harjoitukset* 'trainings') SAMKE5
12. I can't go orienteering every day so there are lots of running, crosscountryskiing, nordic-walking, cyckling and *gym trainings* in my week. (pro *many training sessions*, *much training*, cf. Fi *harjoitukset* 'trainings') SAMKE5
13. ... after that you have hard traing and after that you should do your *homeworks* and everythink else I will be sure to you will face the burn out on sometime. (pro *homework*, cf. Fi *kotityöt* 'homeworks') SAMKE6
14. I have got many memories from games and *trainings*. (pro *training sessions*, cf. Fi *harjoitukset* 'trainings') SAMKE11
15. If there were 25 hours in a day I would give you *an advice*. (pro *a piece of advice*, cf. Fi *neuvo* 'an advice') SAMKE12
16. Some other day I take a new acryle-nails were was pic of some *fruits*. (pro *fruit*, cf. Fi *hedelmät* 'fruit-PL') SAMKE14
17. During the week people just fight with *each others* and grow hate. (pro *each other*, cf. Fi *ihmiset tappelevat toistensa kanssa*) SAMKE18

18. ...you don't even need *brains* when you watch Big Brother. (pro *a brain*, cf. Fi *aivot* 'brain-PL') SAMKE18

## Loan translation: 22

1. The aim is to improve all physical attributes, for example strength, durability, *explosiveness* and balance. (pro *explosive strength*, cf. Fi *räjähtävyys*) KAULU1 IDIOMATIC EXPRESSION
2. Biggest win in my "career" was few years ago when we won or *loss silver medals* in floorball. (pro *we lost the gold but won silver*, cf. Fi *hopea hävitään*) KAULU3 IDIOM
3. Sports and all kinds of physical activities will keep you healthy and your *bodyfunctions* normal. (pro *bodily functions*, cf. Fi *ruumiintoiminnot, elintoiminnot*). KAULU4 COMPOUND WORDS
4. My hobbies *are everything to me*, and without them I would not be me. (pro *mean everything*, cf. Fi *olla kaikki kaikessa*) KAULU17 IDIOMATIC EXPRESSION
5. Volleyball *gives me also rhythm for my life*. My every school day goes almost the same way. (pro *creates routine/structure in my life*, cf. antaa/luoda/tuoda rytmiä elämään) KAULU19 IDIOMATIC EXPRESSION
6. *I've been into scout* since I was an 8-year-old little girl (pro *I have been a scout/I have been a member of the Scouts*, cf. Fi *kuulua partioon*) KAULU20 IDIOMATIC EXPRESSION
7. Home is always home and after all, my *dreamplaces* are always different than they were yesterday, but thoughts about home are never changing. (pro *dream locations/dream destinations*, cf. Fi *unelmapaikka/unelmakohde*) KAULU26 COMPOUND WORD
8. And *what comes to the motivation...* (pro *when it comes to motivation*, cf. Fi *mitä johonkin tulee*) KAULU28 IDIOMATIC EXPRESSION
9. Don't *take any pressures* of it. (pro *do not take any stress about it/do not stress it*, cf. Fi *ottaa paineita jostakin*) KAULU30 IDIOMATIC EXPRESSION
10. *This time* I don't have any certain hobby that I do every week at the same time with the coach or an other leader but generally speaking sport is my passion. (pro *at the moment/right now*, cf. Fi *tällä hetkellä*) KAULU34 IDIOMATIC EXPRESSION
11. I like jogging and going gym most because they are easier to *make work with* school (pro *combine with school*, cf. Fi *saada toimimaan yhteen koulun kanssa*) KAULU34 IDIOMATIC EXPRESSION
12. I didn't have *other* choice. (pro *I didn't have a choice*, cf. Fi *Minulla ei ollut muuta mahdollisuutta*) KAULU34 IDIOMATIC EXPRESSION
13. On the other hand sometimes I still have done homework and *read for exams* less and I can see that in my grades. (pro *study for exams*, cf. Fi *lukea kokeisiin*) KAULU34 IDIOMATIC EXPRESSION
14. That's why I can't go jogging more than a few times a week, because I have to go on a walk with my dog every day and after that I *go read* my books. (pro *go and read*, cf. Fi *mennä lukemaan*) KAULU35 IDIOMATIC EXPRESSION

15. After high school, I want to *go in the army* for a year (pro *join the army*, cf. Fi *mennä armeijaan*) KAULU36 IDOMATIC EXPRESSION
16. After a long *school day* nothing is better than go training and see *orienteering team friends* (pro *friends at the orienteering team*, cf. Fi *suunnistusjoukkuekaverit*) SAMKE5  
COMPOUND WORD
17. After a long *school day* nothing is better than *go training* and see *orienteering team friends* (pro *go and train*, cf. Fi *mennä harjoittelemaan*) SAMKE5 IDOMATIC EXPRESSION
18. In my opinion sports are a very good *opposite* to school work (pro *counterbalance/counterweight to school work*, cf. Fi *vastakohta, vastapaino*) SAMKE5  
IDOMATIC EXPRESSION
19. in my opinion competitive sport and studies aren't so hard to combine in *basic school* because *basic school* studies don't take so much time as high school studies (pro *comprehensive school*, cf. Fi *peruskoulu*) SAMKE6 COMPOUND WORD
20. *This all* is love, but what if we show our love even more in every day. (pro *all of this*, cf. Fi *tämä kaikki*) SAMKE12 IDOMATIC EXPRESSION
21. I'm not arguing that it wouldn't be a nice *side bonus*... (pro *a bonus, a perk*, cf. Fi *sivuanzio, "sivubonus"*) SAMKE13 COMPOUND WORD
22. ...*there isn't a one day in my youth* when I haven't listened any music whole day. (pro *single*, cf. Fi *nuoruudessa ei ole yhden yhtä päivää*) SAMKE15 IDOMATIC EXPRESSION

## Semantic extension: 26

1. In recent years I have taken part for many orienteering races, so it has *come* a bit more serious for me. (7 semantic extension, pro *become*, cf. Fi *tulla (siitä on tullut vakavampaa)*) KAULU3
2. When you *get in love* with the thing you do, you want to push yourself as far as you can and reach your highest potential. (7 semantic extension, pro *fall in love*, cf. Fi *rakastua (get dressed – pukeutua, get ready – valmistautua)*) KAULU4
3. It's so *freeing* (7 semantic extensions, pro *liberating*, cf. Fi *vapauttavaa*) KAULU5
4. Also before deciding which style is for you, you have to know your skill level and what boarding brand *fits* for you. (7 semantic extension pro *suits*, cf. Fi *sopia*) KAULU5
5. I really discovered that there is a competitive *part* of me by playing games against people around the world. (7 semantic extension, pro *side*, cf. Fi *osa, olla osittain kilpailuhenkinen*) KAULU7
6. I have *recognized* that if you workout with a partner you'll get better results. (7 semantic extension, pro *realise*, cf. Fi *'oivaltaa, tajuta'*) KAULU12
7. I have only one dream in my life, *be* a lawyer. (7 semantic extension, pro *to become*, cf. Fi *olla lakimies* (future reference)) KAULU13
8. I always watched that TV show and then I decided that I want to *be* a lawyer. (7 semantic extension, pro *to become*, cf. Fi *olla lakimies* (future reference)) KAULU13

9. I always wanted to *be* a lawyer because I have always been interested about it. (7 semantic extension, pro *to become*, cf. Fi *olla lakimies* (future reference)) KAULU13
10. Most of time in my free time goes for school works, hobbies and for *jobs*. (7 semantic extension, cf. Fi *työ* ‘work, job’) KAULU18
11. When I was the little child about 7-year-old I wanted to *be* a class teacher. (pro *become*, cf. Fi *olla opettaja* (future reference)) KAULU22
12. Nowadays I have almost same dream when I was child. I want to *be* teacher but no class teacher. (pro *become*, cf. Fi *olla opettaja* (future reference)) KAULU22
13. Not are everyone are *searching* it [love] though, but if you happen to be single and ready to mingle here’s my three golden rules for dating to help you along the way. (pro *looking for love*, cf. Fi *etsiä* ‘search, look for’) KAULU30
14. I had to *leave* ice-hockey this winter because school took too much time but it doesn’t mean that I can’t do anything else. (pro *quit*, cf. Fi *jättää, luopua* ‘quit, leave’) KAULU34
15. You have lot of options to choose: jogging, team sports, going to gym and *much* things you can do by yourself (pro *much/many*, cf. Fi *paljon*, used interchangeably in informal Finnish) KAULU34
16. Same time I *interested* about sports. (7 semantic extension, pro *became interested*, cf. Fi *kiinnostus* (interest), *kiinnostua*, confusion of similar sounding words. See Meriläinen 94) KAULU36
17. Then I will hope that my dream *become* true and I would be a police. (7 semantic extension, pro *come*, cf. Fi *tulla* ‘become, come’) KAULU36
18. Then I will hope that my dream become true and I would *be* a police. (7 semantic extension, pro *become*, cf. Fi *olla* (future reference) KAULU36
19. Best *sides* of being police you can really help people and all days are totally different. (7 semantic extension, pro *part*, cf. Fi *paras puoli*) KAULU36
20. Also you have to be sociable, witch *fits* perfectly for me. (7 semantic extension, pro *suits*, cf. Fi *sopia*) KAULU36
21. I would say that my *major* hobby is ringette. (pro *main hobby*, cf. Fi *pääasiallinen, tärkein* ‘main, major’) SAMKE7
22. I had ridden for three years until I got *keen* on that one specific horse. (pro *interested*, cf. Fi *kiinnostua* ‘become interested, *kiinnostunut* ‘keen, interested’) SAMKE8
23. But *leaving* football – never gonna happen. (pro *quit*, cf. Fi *jättää, luopua* ‘quit, leave’) SAMKE11
24. Pick a few important *subjects* and key words and try to learn them. (pro *themes, topics*, cf. Fi *aihe*) SAMKE16
25. On the other hand *humans* may like to sophisticate their empathy and sympathy by watching reality shows. (pro *people*, cf. Fi *ihmiset*) SAMKE18
26. Approx. 10 *humans* are locked into big house...(pro *people*, cf. Fi *ihmiset*) SAMKE18

## Collocation: 13

1. When you are *doing* the test remember to concentrate and try to use the knowledge you have as well as possible. (8 collocation, pro *taking*, cf. Fi *tehdä koe*) KAULU9
2. Going to gym as a hobby it's really great because you can easily *notice* your progress. (8 collocations, pro *see* your progress, cf. huomata edistymisen/huomata edistymistä) KAULU15
3. Going to the gym *gets* me so energetic and it gives also good vibes. (8 collocation, pro *makes*, cf. Fi saada energiseksi) KAULU15
4. I go to the gym, [go to] *spinning* and dance classes. (8 collocations, pro *do spinning*, cf. Fi käydä spinningissä) KAULU17
5. I go to the gym, *spinning* and [go to] *dance classes*. (8 collocations, *take dance classes*, cf. Fi käydä tanssitunneilla) KAULU17
6. They don't try to be different person people who *look* reality shows want to see competitions and people's normal life. (8 collocation, pro *watch*, cf. Fi *katsoa* 'look, watch') KAULU18
7. This time I don't have any *certain* hobby that I do every week at the same time with the coach or an other leader but generally speaking sport is my passion. (8 collocation, cf. *any particular hobby*, cf. Fi *tietty* 'particular, certain') KAULU34
8. Every day after the school I do sports and hanging out with my friends. Also *making* homework and studying for exams when I realized this I opened my eyes again. (8 collocation, pro *do homework*, cf. Fi tehdä kotitehtäviä) KAULU36
9. We got lucky by hitting a big *swarm* of perches (pro *school of perch*, 8 collocation, cf. Fi *ahvenparvi*, *kalaparvi*) SAMKE2
10. the fact you can always be better keeps you training, especially when you *succeed* on your goals (pro *achieve*, 8 collocation, cf. Fi onnistua tavoitteissaan 'succeed in one's goals') SAMKE4
11. Two years ago, me and my family decided to *go* three-weeks trip to Thailand. (pro *take a three-week's trip*, 8 collocations, cf. Fi *mennä lomalle*, *mennä kolmeksi viikoksi Thaimaahan*) SAMKE14
12. ...we didn't need to *do* breakfast ourselves (pro *make breakfast*, 8 collocations, cf. Fi *laittaa aamiaista*) SAMKE14
13. I want to *go* Thailand again. (pro *visit*, 8 collocation, cf. Fi *mennä Thaimaahan*) SAMKE14

## Functional transfer: 16

1. As child I was playing at my moms workplace *what* was hospital (pro *which*, cf. Fi *mikä*) SAMKE3 RELATIVE PRONOUN

2. ...there are so many thinks *what* you had to solve before you can come to high school (pro *which*, cf. Fi *mikä*) SAMKE6      RELATIVE PRONOUN
3. ...after that you will go on our training *what* will take extra 3-5 hour of your day. (pro *which*, cf. Fi *mikä*) SAMKE6      RELATIVE PRONOUN
4. I started to ride Formu for three times a week, and after two years we bought it to *ourselves*. (pro *bought it*, cf. Fi *ostimme sen itsellemme, ostimme sen omaksemme.*) SAMKE8  
REFLEXIVE PRONOUN
5. My mum asked my friend's mum if her daughter would like to take up riding with me. *So* it all began. (pro *that's how*, cf. Fi *niin* 'so, that's how') SAMKE8      CONJUNCTIONS AND CONNECTORS
6. ...you don't have to start TeamGym in *so* early age. (pro *in such an early age*, cf. Fi *niin*) SAMKE10      CONJUNCTIONS AND CONNECTORS
7. After a hard day in school, sport is the thing *what* takes school pressures of on my shoulders. (pro *which*, cf. Fi *mikä*) KAULU3      RELATIVE PRONOUN
8. It is just a thing *what* I love more than nothing. (pro *that*, cf. Fi *mikä*) KAULU3  
RELATIVE PRONOUN
9. Also befor desiding which style is for you, you have to know your skill level and *what* boarding brand fits for you (pro *which*, cf. Fi *mikä*;) KAULU5  
RELATIVE PRONOUN
10. Every time when I feel *myself* sad or lonely I just listen good music. (pro *feel*, cf. Fi *tuntea itsensä* 'feel + reflexive pronoun') KAULU8      REFLEXIVE PRONOUN
11. ...I watched *some* TV show where was a woman. (pro *a TV show*, cf. Fi *jotakin TV-ohjelmaa*) KAULU13      INDEFINITE PRONOUN
12. After ten year it is till my dream, nothing *isn't* change. (pro *has*, cf. Fi *olla (mikään ei ole muuttunut)*) KAULU13      AUXILIARY TO BE
13. I want occupation *what* feels right (pro *that/which*, cf. Fi *mikä*) KAULU13 RELATIVE PRONOUN
14. I want job *what* I want to do my whole life and enjoy it. (pro *which*, cf. Fi *joka/mikä*) KAULU13 RELATIVE PRONOUN
15. It is a reality show *what* I love (pro *that/which*, cf. Fi *joka/mikä*) KAULU18  
RELATIVE PRONOUN
16. Even if there was *over* than ten kilometres left, in some way we found the others (9 functional transfer pro *more*, cf. Fi *yli* 'more than, over') KAULU18      OTHER



## Appendix 4: Cases of syntactic transfer in Finnish-speaking students' compositions

### Passives: 1

1. Don't let no one to tell *what you suppose to do*. (pro *what you are supposed to do*)  
KAULU8

### Expletive pronoun constructions: 11

1. That dream started when i watched TV with my parents and I watched some TV show where [there] was a woman. (pro *where there was*) KAULU13      THERE      EXISTENTIAL SENTENCE
2. In the world is many thousand different reality shows. (pro *there are thousands of different reality shows in the world*) KAULU18      THERE      EXISTENTIAL SENTENCE
3. When is year 2025 and I'm teacher I'm very happy. (pro *when it is the year 2025*)  
KAULU22      IT      COPULA CLAUSE
4. To put bluntly, I would like to sleep more but I think it wouldn't change anything (pro *to put it bluntly*, cf. *Fi suoraan sanottuna*) KAULU25      IT      CLAUSAL SUBJECT
5. In our team is many guys over two meter high. (pro *there are many guys who are over two meters tall in our team*) SAMKE1      THERE      EXISTENTIAL SENTENCE
6. The lakes has also alot of fish in them, mostly perch. (pro *there are also a lot of fish in the lakes*) SAMKE2      THERE      QUANTIFIER CLAUSE
7. The location has also many frisbeegolf places. (*there are also many frisbee golf courses there*) SAMKE2      THERE      QUANTIFIER CLAUSE
8. It was the same summer when was the worst thunder storm in a decade. (pro *when there was the worst thunder storm in a decade*) SAMKE2      THERE      EXISTENTIAL SENTENCE
9. After a long schoolday *nothing is better* than go training and see orienteering team friends. (pro *there is nothing better*) SAMKE5      THERE      EXISTENTIAL SENTENCE
10. In artistic gymnastics *they have four events*. (pro *there are four events*) SAMKE10  
THERE      QUANTIFIER CLAUSE
11. Nearly to our hotel was beach were we go everyday. (pro *there was a beach near to our hotel*, existential there) SAMKE14      THERE      EXISTENTIAL SENTENCE

### Subordinate clauses: 8

1. It is the part *where are all of the lakes* (pro *where all the lakes are*, 3 subordinate clause pattern) SAMKE2      SUBORDINATE INTERROGATIVE CLAUSE

2. I think one reason *that* I like playing is that I can also always be better on that. (3 subordinate clause pattern, pro *I think one reason for why I like playing*, cf. Fi Yksi syy sille, että) SAMKE4 *THAT-CLAUSE*
3. I think that the best thing of belonging in a team is *that when* you lose or win you always have people to share that with. (3 subordinate clause) SAMKE7 *THAT-CLAUSE*
4. The last thing I'd want to say for my fellow students is *that try to make studying fun*. (pro *to try and make studying fun*, 3 subordinate clause pattern) SAMKE16 *THAT-CLAUSE*
5. The best thing in bodybuilding is *that when I see my muscles growing a little bit bigger...* (3 subordinate clause) KAULU12 *THAT-CLAUSE*
6. I don't remember *how was it like*, but I know it was different than these days. (3 subordinate clause, pro *how it was* or *what it was like*) KAULU20 *SUBORDINATE CLAUSE*
7. We had no idea *where were we going* and the phones didn't work. (3 subordinate clause, pro *where we were going*) KAULU20 *SUBORDINATE CLAUSE*
8. I couldn't wait *that I can start my studies and kickboxing in Hämeenlinna* (3 subordinate clause, pro *to start my studies and kickboxing in Hämeenlinna*) KAULU36 *THAT-CLAUSE*

## Future time: 17

1. When you get in love with the thing you do, *you want* to push yourself as far as you can and reach your highest potential. (pro *you will want*) KAULU4 *PRESENT TENSE + TIME ADVERBIAL*
2. There is no shortcut to success. If you want to be the greatest, *you have to give* everything you have. (pro *you will have to give*) KAULU4 *PRESENT TENSE + CONTEXTUAL CLUES*
3. Let's face the facts: *you have to train* approximately 20 hours a week if you want to get to the top. (pro *you will have to train*) KAULU4 *PRESENT TENSE + CONTEXTUAL CLUES*
4. Also before deciding which style is for you, *you have to know your skill level...* (pro *you will have to know*) KAULU5 *PRESENT TENSE + CONTEXTUAL CLUES*
5. Also *you have to buy devices* if you want to play games. (pro *you will have to buy devices*) KAULU7 *PRESENT TENSE + CONTEXTUAL CLUES*
6. *You have to do your thing* if you want to be happy! (pro *you will have to do your thing*) KAULU8 *PRESENT TENSE + CONTEXTUAL CLUES*
7. Lawyer Education is very long and hard. *You have to study* so much. (pro *you will have to study*) KAULU13 *PRESENT TENSE + CONTEXTUAL CLUES*
8. It's possible that you don't get in university at first time and *you have to try* next year, but everything is worth it. (pro *you will have to try*) KAULU13 *PRESENT TENSE + CONTEXTUAL CLUES*
9. If you ever want to go there *you have to walk* into the forest, pass between two giant stones and climb to the top of a hill. (pro *you will have to walk*) KAULU16 *PRESENT TENSE + CONTEXTUAL CLUES*

10. I always thought that when I'm adult *I'm a teacher*. (pro *I will become a teacher, I'm going to become a teacher*) KAULU22 PRESENT TENSE + TIME ADVERBIAL
11. When I graduate from High School *I try to get* into the Jyväskylän's university. (pro *I will try to get*) KAULU22 PRESENT TENSE + TIME ADVERBIAL
12. I hope *we have* the good practice today. (pro *I hope we will have*) SAMKE1  
PRESENT TENSE + CONTEXTUAL CLUES
13. Only thing that suck in my dream job is that *you have to study* so much and long time (*you will have to study*) SAMKE3 PRESENT TENSE + CONTEXTUAL CLUES
14. the best thing of belonging in a team is that when you lose or win *you always have* people to share that with. (pro *you will always have*) SAMKE7 PRESENT TENSE + TIME ADVERBIAL
15. *You have to know* a lot of water chemistry and the fish's needs so you can have a beautiful aquarium. (pro *you will have to know*) SAMKE7 PRESENT TENSE + CONTEXTUAL CLUES
16. *You never know* when it is the last of your or your loved ones lifes. (pro *you will never know*) SAMKE12 PRESENT TENSE + CONTEXTUAL CLUES
17. Actually we are going to travel again this spring when we *go* on a trip to Italy. (pro *are going*) SAMKE15 PRESENT TENSE + TIME ADVERBIAL

## Prepositions: 70

1. When I play floorball or run in a forest I don't *think* anything else. (pro *think about*, cf. Fi *en ajattele mitään muuta*) KAULU3 OMISSION OF PREPOSITION
2. In recent years I have taken part *for* many orienteering races, so it has come a bit more serious for me. (pro *taken part in*, cf. Fi *osallistua suunnistuskisoihin*) KAULU3  
ILLATIVE
3. I can't *think* my life without any kind of sport. (pro *think about*, cf. Fi *ajatella elämäni*) KAULU3 OMISSION OF PREPOSITION
4. When you put so much time and effort *to* something, there really isn't the energy and motivation for studies. (pro *in*, cf. Fi *laittaa energiaa johonkin*) KAULU4 ILLATIVE
5. You have to spend so much time *in* school and focus so much to it that you have be a great talent to reach something sports wise. (pro *at*, cf. Fi *koulussa*) KAULU4  
INESSIVE
6. You have to spend so much time in school and focus so much *to* it that you have be a great talent to reach something sports wise. (pro *on*, cf. Fi *keskittyä siihen [kouluun]*) KAULU4  
ILLATIVE
7. I *think* why I started and every time I remember my idol Lionel messi. (pro *think about*, cf. Fi *ajatella*) KAULU6 OMISSION OF PREPOSITION
8. I spend much time playing games or discussing *about* games with my friends. (pro *discussing games*, cf. *keskustella peleistä*) KAULU7 ELATIVE
9. Music is my passion *of* life. (pro *for*, cf. Fi *elämäni rakkaus*) KAULU8 GENITIVE

10. Every time when I feel myself sad or lonely I just listen good music. (pro *listen to*, cf. Fi kuunnella) KAULU8 OMISSION OF PREPOSITION
11. I love *listen* it. (pro *listen to*, cf. Fi kuunnella) KAULU8 OMISSION OF PREPOSITION
12. Every time I hear good music I stop to *listen* it. (pro *listen to*, cf. Fi kuunnella) KAULU8 OMISSION OF PREPOSITION
13. You need to learn all the important terms that was included *to* the course. (pro *in*, cf. Fi sisältyä johonkin) KAULU9 ILLATIVE
14. *Following* these instructions I gave you, you should be able to get a straight A. (pro *by following*, cf. Fi seuraamalla) KAULU9 OMISSION OF PREPOSITION
15. Everything was bigger of course, but it was like any other big city *I've been* (pro *I've been to*, cf. Fi jossa olen ollut) KAULU10 OMISSION OF PREPOSITION
16. I've played it [disc golf] 2 years. (pro *for two years*, cf. Fi olen pelannut kaksi vuotta) KAULU11 OMISSION OF PREPOSITION
17. Working out is fun too because all my best friends are *in* the same gym. (pro *at*, cf. Fi salilla) KAULU12 ADESSIVE (overgeneralisation of *in*)
18. I always wanted to be a lawyer because I have always been interested *about* it (pro *in*, cf. Fi kiinnostunut siitä) KAULU13 ELATIVE
19. My life changed few months ago when I started to go *in* a gym (pro *at*, cf. Fi salilla) KAULU15 ADESSIVE (overgeneralisation of *in*)
20. If you ever want to go there you have to walk into the forest, pass between two giant stones and climb *to* the top of a hill. (pro *on*, cf. vuoren huipulle) KAULU16 ALLATIVE
21. After you have done all that you have arrived *to* my paradise. (pro *at*, cf. Fi saapua paratiisiin) KAULU16 ILLATIVE
22. The whole opening is covered in moss and lichen, and if you climb *to* the top of one of those stone you can only see trees for as far as your eyes can see. (pro *on*, cf. Fi kiven päälle) KAULU16 ALLATIVE
23. My practice start seven o'clock... (pro *at seven o'clock*, cf. Fi kello seitsemän) SAMKE1 OMISSION OF PREPOSITION
24. ...my practice end a half past nine (pro *at half past nine*, cf. Fi puoli kymmenen) SAMKE1 OMISSION OF PREPOSITION
25. I had basketballgame *on* last Saturday (pro *last Saturday*, viime lauantaina) SAMKE1 ESSIVE
26. We have won only two games *in* this season. (pro *this season*, cf. Fi tällä kaudella) SAMKE1 ESSIVE
27. I have always want to help people and *in* my relatives there is some lawyers. (pro *some of my relatives are lawyers*, cf. Fi sukulaisissani on lakimiehiä) SAMKE3 INESSIVE
28. *The idea being doctor* came for my mom. (pro *the idea of being a doctor*, cf. Fi ajatus lääkärinä työskentelystä/olemisesta) SAMKE3 OMISSION OF PREPOSITION
29. I don't compete anymore because of the (rasitusvamma?) I have *in* my leg. (pro *on* my leg, cf. Fi jalassani) SAMKE4 INESSIVE

30. I enjoy it every time when I take map *to* my hand and go to forest. (pro *in* my hand, cf. Fi *käteeni*) SAMKE5 ILLATIVE
31. First of all you had thing how manage our time because you will sitt *in* school 5-7 hour per day... (pro *at* school, cf. Fi *koulussa*) SAMKE6 INESSIVE
32. If you had had hard day *in* school and after that you have had traing and after that you should do you homeworks and everythink else I will be sure to you will face the burn out on sometime. (pro *at* school, cf. Fi *koulussa*) SAMKE6 INESSIVE
33. It's something you will never get bored *in*. (pro *with*, cf. Fi *tylsistyä johonkin*) SAMKE7 ILLATIVE OVERGENERALISATION OF *IN* (Meriläinen 2010: 179)
34. I have played football twelve years now. (pro *for twelve years*) SAMKE11 OMISSION OF PREPOSITION
35. And if you're angry, you can just go *to* play football...(pro *go and play football*, cf. Fi *mennä pelaamaan jalkapalloa*.) SAMKE11 ALLATIVE
36. But in the summer it is nice to be outside and play football many hours. (pro *for many hours*, cf. Fi *useita tunteja*, 5 prepositional construction) SAMKE11 OMISSION OF PREPOSITION
37. I also *go* some hole-body massage everyday. (pro *go for a massage*) SAMKE14 OMISSION OF PREPOSITION
38. If you have, you know how I feel *towards* music. (pro *about*) SAMKE15 ADPOSITION 'kohti'
39. ...there isn't a one day in my youth when I haven't listened any music whole day. (pro *listened to*, cf. Fi *kuunnella musiikkia*) SAMKE15 OMISSION OF PREPOSITION
40. I have got my best friends *from* the choir... (pro *at*, cf. Fi *olen saanut parhaat ystäväni kuorosta*, 5 prepositional construction) SAMKE15 ELATIVE
41. A company creates an idea, turns it into a TV-show and attracts viewers to pay them so they can make more crazy stuff happen to the "real" people *in* the show. (pro *on the show*, cf. Fi *tv-sarjassa*) SAMKE17 INESSIVE
42. ...they have to take part of *plenty challenges* and competitions. (pro *plenty of challenges*, cf. Fi *useita haasteita*, 5 prepositional construction) SAMKE18 OMISSION OF PREPOSITION
43. It's nice to *think* what if we would have more time in a day... (pro *think about*, cf. Fi *ajatella*) KAULU21 OMISSION OF PREPOSITION
44. Maybe I would be just *writing* what if we have 26 hours a day. (pro *write about*, cf. Fi *kirjoittaa*) KAULU21 OMISSION OF PREPOSITION
45. Now I'm *on* the High school. (5 preposition, pro *at*)
46. *But my mind* the most important stuff in my occupation is that I get deal with other people. (pro *to my mind*) KAULU22 OMISSION OF PREPOSITION
47. It was 2012 when my mother asked me if I want to *go Thailand*, my paradise KAULU23 OMISSION OF PREPOSITION
48. We went *to* the boat trip. (pro *on*, cf. Fi *mennä veneretkelle*) KAULU23 ALLATIVE
49. I feed the bananas *for* her. (pro *to*, cf. Fi *syöttää hänelle*) KAULU23 ALLATIVE
50. I have played guitar seven years. (pro *for seven years*, cf. Fi *seitsemän vuotta*) KAULU24 OMISSION OF PREPOSITION

51. Normally when I'm not doing any schoolwork, I'm either playing or listening music. (pro *listening to music*, cf. Fi kuunnella musiikkia) KAULU24 OMISSION OF PREPOSITION
52. The disc is flying the air just like you have planned and it smashed *to* the basket (5 preposition, pro *into*) KAULU27 ILLATIVE
53. Couple of high fives with your best friends and after that full concentration *to* your next shot. (pro *on*, cf. Fi keskittyä heittoon) KAULU27 ILLATIVE
54. In the summer of 2013 my very best friend had asked me *couple times* to come to try disc golf to a local course called Viisari. (pro *a couple of times*, cf. Fi pari kertaa) KAULU27 OMISSION OF PREPOSITION
55. In the summer of 2013 my very best friend had asked me couple times to come to try disc golf *to* a local course called Viisari. (pro *at a local course*, cf. Fi paikalliselle kentälle) KAULU27 ALLATIVE
56. I was so hooked *to* the sport just after the round of my life! (pro *on*, cf. Fi jäädä koukuun) KAULU27 ILLATIVE
57. I started to look my hobby on more competitive way right after i took part *to* my first weekly competition... (pro *in*, cf. Fi ottaa osaa johonkin) KAULU27 ILLATIVE
58. I played horribly and I was really disapointed *to* my showing. (5 preposition, pro *with*, cf. Fi olla pettynyt tulokseen) KAULU27 ILLATIVE
59. In the pre-school Finnish kids are taught alphabet and other basics, but also practical things like how to act politely *in* the school (pro *at*, cf. Fi koulussa) KAULU28 INESSIVE
60. Not everyone likes to spend a minute of their freetime *for* computer games but more and more people find it relaxing and enjoyable freetime activity... (pro *with*, cf. Fi käyttää aikaansa tietokonepeleihin) KAULU32 ILLATIVE
61. I haven't been *in* Paradise yet, but some day I will (pro *to*, cf. Fi paratiisissa) KAULU33 INESSIVE
62. Our summer cottage would be *in* our own island or in a big piece of beach. (pro *on*, cf. *saaressa*) KAULU33 INESSIVE
63. You have lot of options to choose (pro *to choose from*, cf. Fi joista valita) KAULU34 OMISSION OF PREPOSITION
64. I live to read, to put it bluntly, and it *pays*. (pro *pays off*, cf. Fi kannattaa) KAULU35 OMISSION OF PREPOSITION
65. I live beside a forest and I go there jogging with my dog *a couple times* a week. (pro *a couple of times*, cf. Fi pari kertaa) KAULU35 OMISSION OF PREPOSITION
66. In a secondary school I was best *of* my class and I earned straight A:s. (pro *in*, cf. Fi luokkani paras) KAULU36 GENITIVE
67. *Same time* I interested about sports. (pro *at the same time*, cf. Fi samaan aikaan) KAULU36 OMISSION OF PREPOSITION
68. Same time I interested *about* sports. (pro *in* cf. Fi kiinnostua urheilusta) KAULU36 ELATIVE
69. I had been one period *in* the high school and I just noticed that I can't do it. (pro *at*, cf. Fi lukiossa) KAULU36 INESSIVE
70. Also they [police officers] have to stand work shifts. (pro *stand during work shifts* cf. Fi seisoa työvuoroja) KAULU36 OMISSION OF PREPOSITION

## Appendix 5: Cases of lexical transfer in Swedish-speaking students' compositions

### Substitutions: 3

1. I also got to play two years in “*österbottens distrikt lag*”... (pro *Ostrobothnia district team*) VÖS12
2. ...after that i was on try out to a region team “*regions lag*” (pro *regional team*) VÖS12
3. But nothing is more *paradis* than the sandy beaches, that was almost white and the clear water. (pro *paradise*, cf. Swe *paradis*) VÖS14

### Relexifications: 0

### Orthographic transfer: 36

1. The highlights of the trip were when we could have nice conversations with eachother and laugh at *eachothers* jokes. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *each other*'s, cf. Swe *varandras*) VÖS1 COMPOUND WORD
2. The highlights of the trip were when we could have nice conversations with *eachother* and laugh at eachothers jokes. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *each other*, cf. Swe *varandra*) VÖS1 COMPOUND WORD
3. Our family travels quite *alot*. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *a lot*, cf. Swe *mycket*) VÖS1 COMPOUND WORD
4. *Some day* I might want to work as an actor (3 orthographic transfer, pro *someday*, cf. Swe *någon dag*) VÖS2 COMPOUND WORD
5. Some of the oldest members are a year older than me while the youngest have just started *middleschool*. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *middle school*, cf. Swe *grundskola*, *mellanstadie*) VÖS2 COMPOUND WORD
6. I don't really cere if it is a new word in *swedish* or it is a new fact. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *Swedish*, cf. Swe *svenska*) VÖS3 OMISSION OF CAPITAL LETTER
7. There is two books that I really love and a day *can not* pass without me thinking about them. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *cannot*, cf. Swe *kan inte*) VÖS3 COMPOUND WORD
8. If I'd have that chance to add one hour to the day, I would, and I am sure I would, spend it laying in my bed, watching my at-the-moment-favorite *Netflix-series*. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *Netflix series*, cf. Swe *tv-serier*) VÖS5 COMPOUND WORD
9. If I'd have that *chanse* to add one hour to the day, I would, and I am sure I would, spend it laying in my bed... (3 orthographic transfer, /s/ vs /c/, cf. Swe *chans*, *chansa*) VÖS5 WRONG LETTER
10. Seldom I decide to steal extra time from my *sleepinghours* because I am the most tired person in the evenings. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *sleeping hours*, cf. Swe *sovtid*, *sovtimmar*, *sömntimmar*) VÖS5 COMPOUND WORD

11. When I asked my parents if I could start taking *violinlessons*, they said no because they thought that I wasn't old enough that I only wanted to play because my best friend did it. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *violin lessons*, cf. Swe fiollektioner) VÖS8 COMPOUND WORD
12. A year or so got by, and after asking my parent numerous times about the *violinlessons* they agreed to sign me up for the local musicinstitute. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *violin lessons*, cf. Swe fiollektioner) VÖS8 COMPOUND WORD
13. A year or so got by, and after asking my parent numerous times about the violinlessons they agreed to sign me up for the local *musicinstitute*. (pro *music institute/institute of music*, cf. Swe musikinstitut) VÖS8 COMPOUND WORD
14. Group gymnastic is more like *figureskating* but not on ice... (3 orthographic transfer, pro *figure skating*, cf. Swe konståkning) VÖS9 COMPOUND WORD
15. [...] we are moving our body to the music in a gymnastic way and we are wearing beautiful suits like *figureskaters* do. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *figure skaters*, cf. Swe konståkare) VÖS9 COMPOUND WORD
16. Here in the *western-world*, we see people dying everyday, and we see so skinny children that you can see all their bones, and yet we don't do anything to help them. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *Western world*, cf. Swe västvärlden). VÖS10 OMISSION OF CAPITAL LETTER
17. In my paradise no one would ever have to starve, and people would help *eachother*. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *each other*, cf. Swe varandra) VÖS10 COMPOUND WORD
18. I am also expected to go to the gym on my *freetime* to get stronger to the football. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *free time*, cf. Swe fritid) VÖS11 COMPOUND WORD
19. But some days when I come home after a long *schoolday* I don't have any energy left to go training. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *school day*, cf. Swe skoldag) VÖS11 COMPOUND WORD
20. I would definately be *alot* lazier and also not as happy as i am today. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *a lot*, cf. Swe mycket) VÖS12 COMPOUND WORD
21. Whilst many can name all the members of the kardashians, many do not even know name of our Primeminister. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *Prime Minister*, cf. Swe premiärminister/statsminister) VÖS13 COMPOUND WORD
22. But many of them are either produced by *american* companise such as Bravo or also filmed in the US, making all the shows quite similar to each other. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *American*, cf. Swe amerikansk) VÖS16 OMISSION OF CAPITAL LETTER
23. These both shows are shot close to LA, Bewerly *hills* being a expensive neighbourhood in LA and OC being a gated community a few miles outside of LA. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *Hills*, cf. Swe geografiska namn (e.g. Karibiska havet, Klippiga bergen) VÖS16 OMISSION OF CAPITAL LETTER
24. Personally I regularly watch *real housewives of Bewerly hills and orange county*. (pro *Real Housewives of Bewerly Hills and Orange County*) VÖS16 OMISSION OF CAPITAL LETTER



25. When I was about seven years old I started playing *fotball* in Vasa IFM, I really enjoyed it for many years. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *football*, cf. Swe *fotboll*) VÖS17  
WRONG LETTER (OMISSION OF LETTER)
26. Later on I got a bit bored of *fotball*, the training session lefted a bad taste in my mouth... (3 orthographic transfer, pro *football*, cf. Swe *fotboll*) VÖS17 SWEDISH WORD FORM
27. So I quited *fotball* in seventh grade. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *football*, cf. Swe *fotboll*) VÖS17 SWEDISH WORD FORM
28. I picked up computer gaming *aswell*, which probably is my biggest hobby today. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *as well*, cf. Swe *också*) VÖS17 COMPOUND WORD
29. At this moment in life I usually ocupy my *sparetime* infront of my computer, gaming with friends. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *spare time*, cf. Swe *fritid*) VÖS17 COMPOUND WORD
30. As a *finn* myself, I have thought about why our school-system is praised internationally. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *a Finn*, cf. Swe *finländare*) VÖS18 OMISSION OF CAPITAL LETTER
31. As a *finn* myself, I have thought about why our *school-system* is praised internationally. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *school system*, cf. Swe *skolsystem*) VÖS18 COMPOUND WORD
32. Giving the average school age *finn* a cost free elementry school on the taxpayers expense. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *a Finn*, cf. Swe *finländare*) VÖS18 OMISSION OF CAPITAL LETTER
33. It partly hangs on the ambition of the teachers and students, but also largely thanks to it's large and free network of schools that helps makes the *finish* schools so great. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *Finnish*, cf. Swe *finländsk*) VÖS18 OMISSION OF CAPITAL LETTER
34. Given that *finns* have a choice of what career path they want to go after at any time and age, it has an impact on your daily life. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *a Finn*, cf. Swe *finländare*) VÖS18 OMISSION OF CAPITAL LETTER
35. All in all the succsess of the *finish* school system has contributing parts that make it one of the best in the world. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *Finnish*, cf. Swe *finländsk*) VÖS18  
OMISSION OF CAPITAL LETTER
36. I'm not sure if this is an *actuell* job, I hope so. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *actual*, cf. Swe *aktuell*) VÖS19 SWEDISH WORD FORM

### First-person pronoun *I* (not considered as orthographic transfer): 27

1. When *i* prepare for a really important test first of all *i* start reading the textbook maybe a week before the test. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *I*, cf. Swe *jag*) VÖS4 FIRST PERSON PRONOUN *I*
2. When *i* prepare for a really important test first of all *i* start reading the textbook maybe a week before the test. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *I*, cf. Swe *jag*) VÖS4 FIRST PERSON PRONOUN *I*

3. But I'm still going to train my own team, I think *i* forgotten to mention that me and my friend are trainers for a team called Almandin... (3 orthographic transfer, pro *I*, cf. Swe jag). VÖS9 FIRST PERSON PRONOUN *I*
4. My hobby is soccer, and it is the best thing *i* know. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *I*, cf, Swe jag). VÖS12 FIRST PERSON PRONOUN *I*
5. I started to play when *i* was about 4-5 years old, so it has always been a really big part of my life. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *I*, cf, Swe jag). VÖS12 FIRST PERSON PRONOUN *I*
6. I think *i* started because my dad and siblings also did it. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *I*, cf, Swe jag). VÖS12 FIRST PERSON PRONOUN *I*
7. When *i* first started it actually was my big sister who became our trainer. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *I*, cf, Swe jag). VÖS12 FIRST PERSON PRONOUN *I*
8. My first team *i* played was Sundom IF. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *I*, cf, Swe jag). VÖS12 FIRST PERSON PRONOUN *I*
9. I started to play with the ladies this year so *i'm* one of the youngest.... (3 orthographic transfer, pro *I*, cf, Swe jag) VÖS12 FIRST PERSON PRONOUN *I*
10. [...] *i* play with girls up to 30 years old. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *I*, cf, Swe jag) VÖS12 FIRST PERSON PRONOUN *I*
11. The training take a lot of my free time because *i* have training 5-6 time a week. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *I*, cf, Swe jag) VÖS12 FIRST PERSON PRONOUN *I*
12. It doesn't matter if you are poor or rich, tall or short everybody can play if they want to and *i* think that that is a really important thing for a hobby. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *I*, cf, Swe jag) VÖS12 FIRST PERSON PRONOUN *I*
13. ...after that *i* was on try out to a region team "regions lag" (3 orthographic transfer, pro *I*, cf, Swe jag) VÖS12 FIRST PERSON PRONOUN *I*
14. ...but *i* didn't made to the team. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *I*, cf, Swe jag) VÖS12 FIRST PERSON PRONOUN *I*
15. Now *i* play with Vasa IFK womens team (representation team). (3 orthographic transfer, pro *I*, cf, Swe jag) VÖS12 FIRST PERSON PRONOUN *I*
16. I then started to consider to stop playing, but luckily *i* didn't. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *I*, cf, Swe jag). VÖS12 FIRST PERSON PRONOUN *I*
17. It is a big change to play with them, they are so big and strong but *i* think i will manage it after a while. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *I*, cf, Swe jag) VÖS12 FIRST PERSON PRONOUN *I*
18. It is a big change to play with them, they are so big and strong but i think *i* will manage it after a while. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *I*, cf, Swe jag) VÖS12 FIRST PERSON PRONOUN *I*
19. I don't know how long *i* will play... (3 orthographic transfer, pro *I*, cf, Swe jag) VÖS12 FIRST PERSON PRONOUN *I*
20. [...] one things is for sure and that is that *i'm* not going to stop while i still enjoy doing it. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *I*, cf, Swe jag) VÖS12 FIRST PERSON PRONOUN *I*
21. [...] one things is for sure and that is that i'm not going to stop while *i* still enjoy doing it. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *I*, cf, Swe jag) VÖS12 FIRST PERSON PRONOUN *I*
22. I think *i* am the way i am because i play soccer (pro *I*, cf, Swe jag) VÖS12 FIRST PERSON PRONOUN *I*

23. I think i am the way *i* am because i play soccer (pro *I*, cf, Swe jag) VÖS12  
FIRST PERSON PRONOUN *I*
24. I think i am the way i am because *i* play soccer (pro *I*, cf, Swe jag) VÖS12  
FIRST PERSON PRONOUN *I*
25. ...*i* mean like the way i dress and like my whole personality. (pro *I*, cf, Swe jag) VÖS12  
FIRST PERSON PRONOUN *I*
26. ...*i* mean like the way *i* dress and like my whole personality. (pro *I*, cf, Swe jag) VÖS12  
FIRST PERSON PRONOUN *I*
27. I would definately be alot lazier and also not as happy as *i* am today. (3 orthographic transfer, pro *I*, cf. Swe jag) VÖS12 FIRST PERSON PRONOUN *I*

## Phonetic transfer: 0

## Morphological transfer: 7

1. When you combine listening on class, doing *homeworks*, assignments and reading the texts, you should have a great chance for a nice grade. (5 morphological transfer, pro *homework*, cf. Swe hemläxor, hemuppgifter) VÖS4
2. We are *each others* motivations (pro *each other's*, 5 morphological transfer, cf. Swe varandras) VÖS7
3. My hobby is group/team *gymnastic* and I've been doing it since I was 6 year old, so it has been an important thing ever since. (5 morphological transfer, pro *group gymnastics/team gymnastics*, cf. Swe trupp gymnastik) VÖS9
4. It is not many people that know what group *gymnatic* is, they are comparing the sport with cheerleading and that is totally wrong. (5 morphological transfer, pro *group gymnastics/team gymnastics*, cf. Swe trupp gymnastik (singular) VÖS9
5. Group *gymnastic* is more like figureskating but not on ice, but we are moving our body to the music in a gymnastic way and we are wearing beautiful suits like figureskaters do. (5 morphological transfer, pro *group gymnastics/team gymnastics*, cf. Swe trupp gymnastik (singular) VÖS9
6. Group *gymnastic* is a big part of my life but I have decided after all this year I'm going quit after our competision season is over, because for me school and training 5 times per week doesn't work anymore. (5 morphological transfer, pro *group gymnastics/team gymnastics*, cf. Swe trupp gymnastik (singular) VÖS9
7. When we finally reached the front of the line, the border guy simply glanced at the *content* of our car... (5 morphological transfer, pro *contents* (plural), cf. Swe innehåll) VÖS20

## Loan translations: 5

1. But now when I'm going in high school I'm having *troubles* making time for both football and studies. (6 loan translation, pro *have trouble*, cf. Swe ha problem (plural) VÖS11)
2. Now i play with Vasa IFK womens team (*representation team*) (6 loan translation, pro *representative team*, cf. Swe representationslag) VÖS12
3. It is probably one of the safest cities in the world, they have almost no *crime activity*. (pro *criminal activity*, 6 loan translation cf. Swe brottsaktivitet, brott 'crime') VÖS14
4. You're obliged to at least have a *ground level education* by law which consists of grades 1-9. (6 loan translation, pro *basic level of education*, cf. Swe grundutbildning) VÖS18
5. Another reason is that you have to go to school at the age of 7, you can choose between sending your child to a *public school* or homeschool her/him. (6 loan translation, pro *a state school/a state-funded school*, cf. Swe en offentlig skola (a school financed by the government), offentlig 'public, communal') VÖS18

## Semantic extensions: 0

## Collocations: 4

1. How ever this trip wouldn't have been the same if we hadn't *done* it as a family. (8 collocation, pro *taken* (take a trip), cf. Swe göra en resa) VÖS1
2. My advice if you want to do *good* in tests is first of all, listen and stay focused all the time in class. (8 collocation, pro *well*, cf. Swe bra 'good, well' as in göra bra ifrån sig, lyckas bra) VÖS4
3. As the standard of living becomes *better* and better, the population becomes dumber and dumber. (pro *higher*, 8 collocation, cf. Swe levnadsstandarden blir bättre och bättre) VÖS13
4. Your heart rate slows down and your breathing becomes *deeper* and more stable. (8 collocation, pro *heavier*, cf. Swe andas djupt/ta djupa andetag/djup andning) VÖS20

## Functional transfer: 1

1. Given that finns have a choice of *what* career path they want to go after at any time and age, it has an impact on your daily life. (pro *which*, 9 functional transfer, cf. Swe vilken, vilken karriärväg) VÖS18

## Appendix 6: Cases of syntactic transfer in Swedish-speaking students' compositions

### Passive: 1

1. These were the days when Croatia hadn't *get joined* the EU, so everyone entering the country had to pass through customs (passive, cf. Swe bli anknuten till/bli en del av) VÖS20

### Expletive pronouns: 0

### Subordinate clauses: 1

1. The idea of "the more (and expensive) stuff you have, *the better person are you*", is really making me sad (word order in a subordinate clause, cf. Swe ju flera och dyrare grejer du har, desto bättre är du som person) VÖS10

### Future time: 4

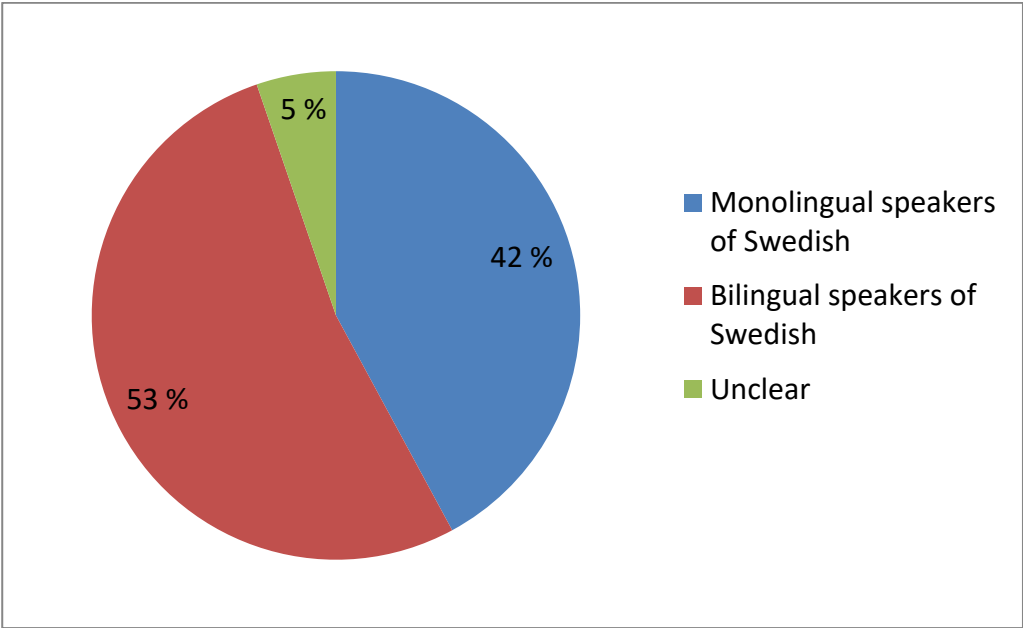
1. In Cancun the water is so clear and so pretty that when you see it, *you* get speechless. (pro *you'll get speechless*, cf. Swe du blir ordlös) VÖS6
2. Another reason is that *you have to go* to school at the of 7, you can choose between sending your child to a public school or homeschool her/him. (future time, pro *you will have to go*, cf. Swe du måste gå till skolan) VÖS18
3. Sadly we can't always get our way in life. And if that is the case in the children's life, I hope *they realise* there's good in everything (future time, pro *they will realise*) VÖS19
4. *You become* one with the ocean, a part of the endless cycle, without disturbing it. (future time, pro *you will become*, cf. Swe du blir) VÖS20

### Prepositions: 13

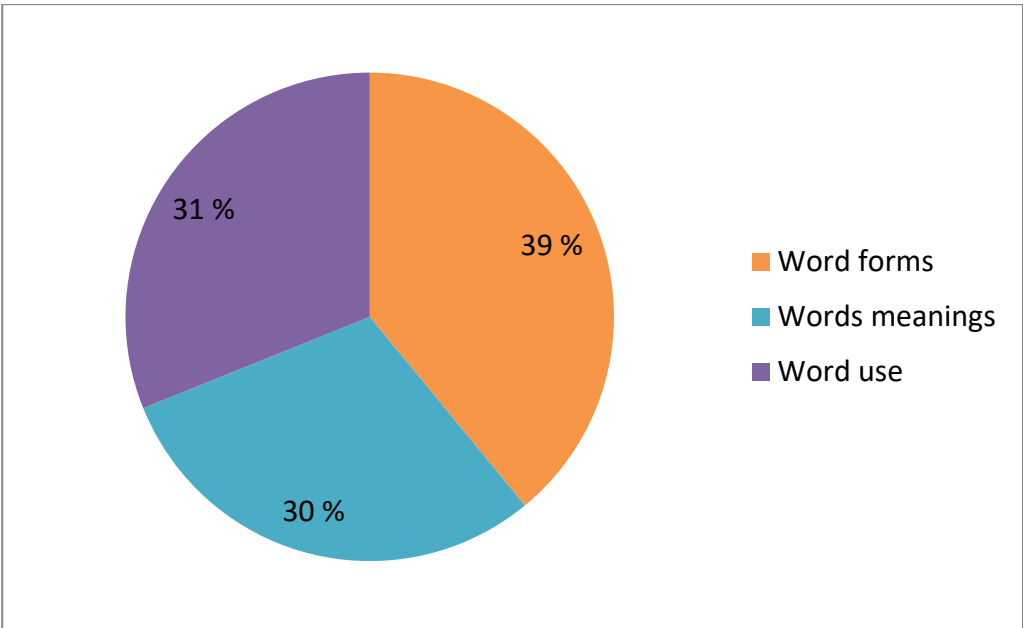
1. Often I feel that the time runs away too fast and *in* the end of the day many of the days tasks are left undone. (pro *at the end of the day*, cf. Swe i slutet av dagen 'in the end of the day') VÖS5
2. We are 8 gymnasts *in* the ages of 17-19 (preposition, pro *at*, cf. Swe i åldrar 17-19) VÖS9
3. I am also expected to go to the gym *on* my freetime to get stronger to the football. (pro *in*, cf. Swe på fritiden, på 'on') VÖS11
4. All of this is so annoying because I would really want to have time to do all of the homework and still have time to go *on* all of my trainings and to the gym. (preposition, cf. Swe gå på träning/gå på träningar) VÖS11
5. Now i play *with* Vasa IFK womens team (representation team). (preposition, pro *in*, cf. Swe vara med i ett lag, med 'with') VÖS12

6. The first thing that I remember after getting *of* the plane is a long hallway with chandeliers up in the ceiling. (preposition, pro *off/out of*, cf. Swe *av* (*stiga av flygplanet*) VÖS14
7. This is probably one of the main reasons *for* why reality tv have become so popular. (pro *why*, cf. Swe *en orsak till varför*) VÖS16
8. At this moment in life I usually occupy my sparetime *infront* of my computer, gaming with friends. (preposition, pro *occupy my spare time with*, cf. Swe *tillbringa tid framför datorn*) VÖS17
9. Later on I got a bit bored *of* football... (preposition, pro *with*, cf. Swe *bli uttråkad av*) VÖS17
10. I have worked out in a gym from time to time *in* 2-3 years...(preposition, pro *for*, cf. Swe *i 2–3 år*) VÖS17
11. *In the last year* I have stayed dedicated and consistent working out many days almost every week. (preposition, pro *last year*, cf. Swe *i fjol*) VÖS17
12. Giving the average school age find a cost free elementary school *on* the taxpayers expense. (preposition, pro *at*, cf. Swe *på någons bekostnad*) VÖS18
13. I.e if you're not happy with your choice of career you can at anytime go back to collage, university etc. to choose a new one for, you guessed it: "*FREE*" (preposition, pro *for free*, cf. Swe *gratis*) VÖS18

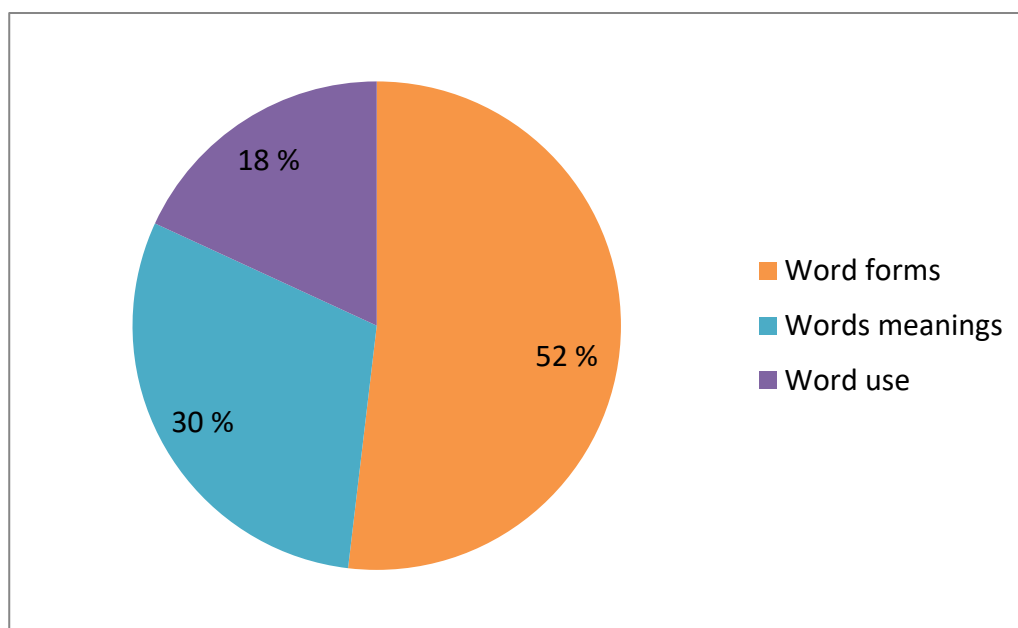
**Appendix 7: List of figures**



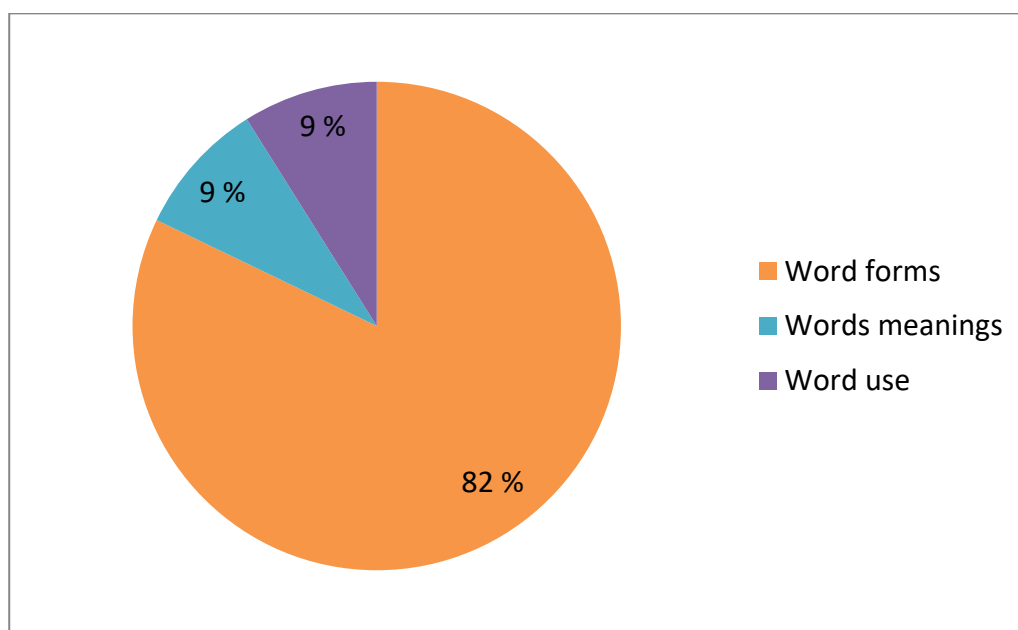
*Figure 3: Bilingualism and monolingualism among Swedish-speaking informants*



*Figure 4: Word forms, word meanings, and word use in Finnish-speakers' compositions in Meriläinen (2010)*



*Figure 5: Word forms, word meanings, and word use in Finnish-speakers' compositions*  
*Nevanperä (2017)*



*Figure 6: Word forms, word meanings, and word use in Swedish-speakers' compositions in*  
*Nevanperä (2017)*



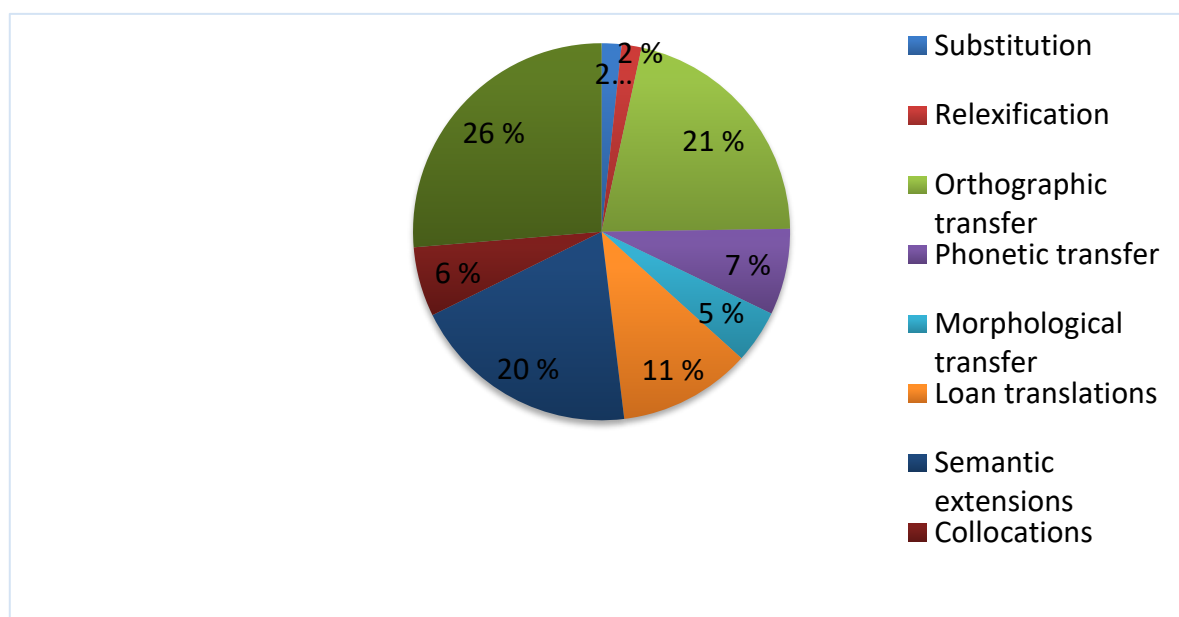


Figure 7: Lexical transfer in Finnish-speakers' compositions in Meriläinen (2010)

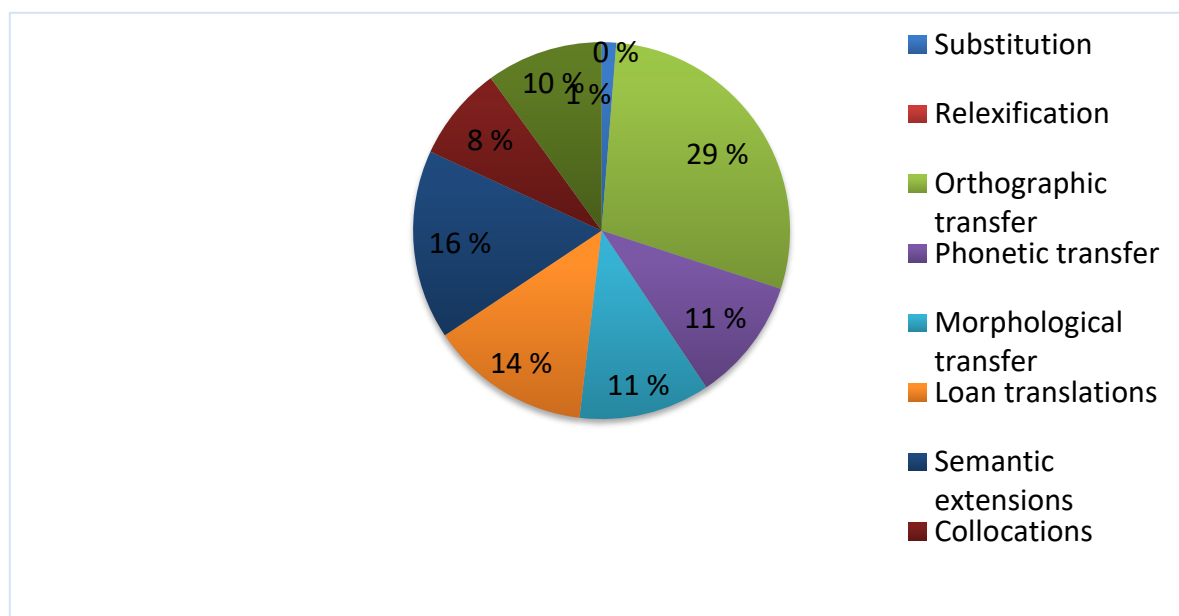


Figure 8: Lexical transfer in Finnish-speakers' compositions in Nevanperä (2017)

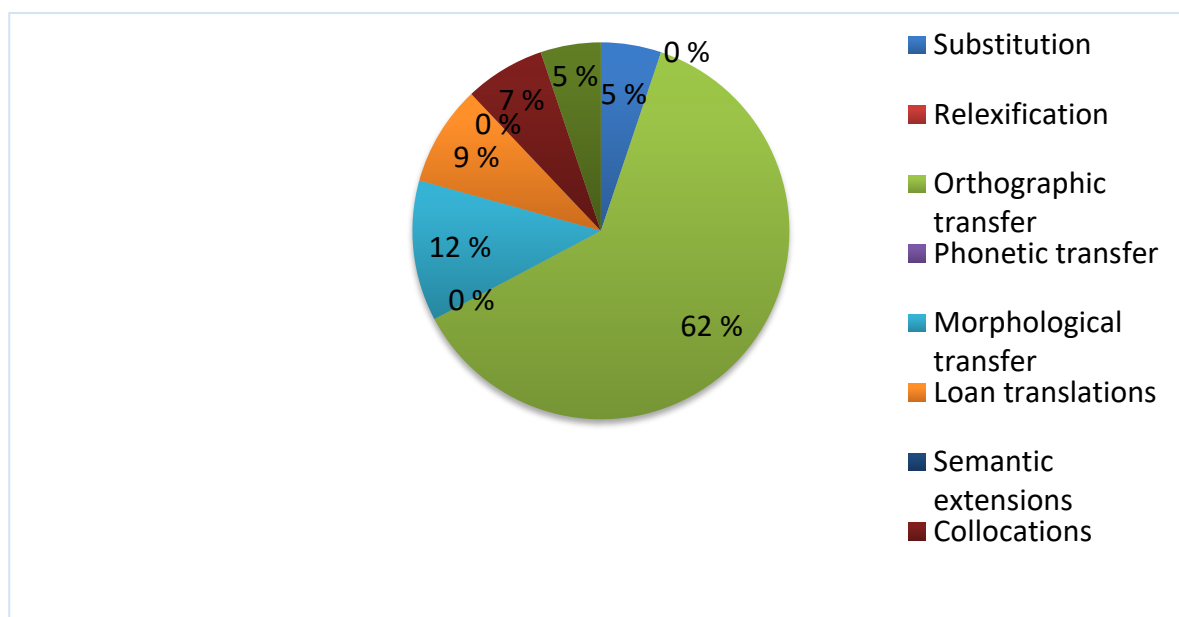


Figure 9: Lexical transfer in Swedish-speakers' compositions in Nevanperä (2017)

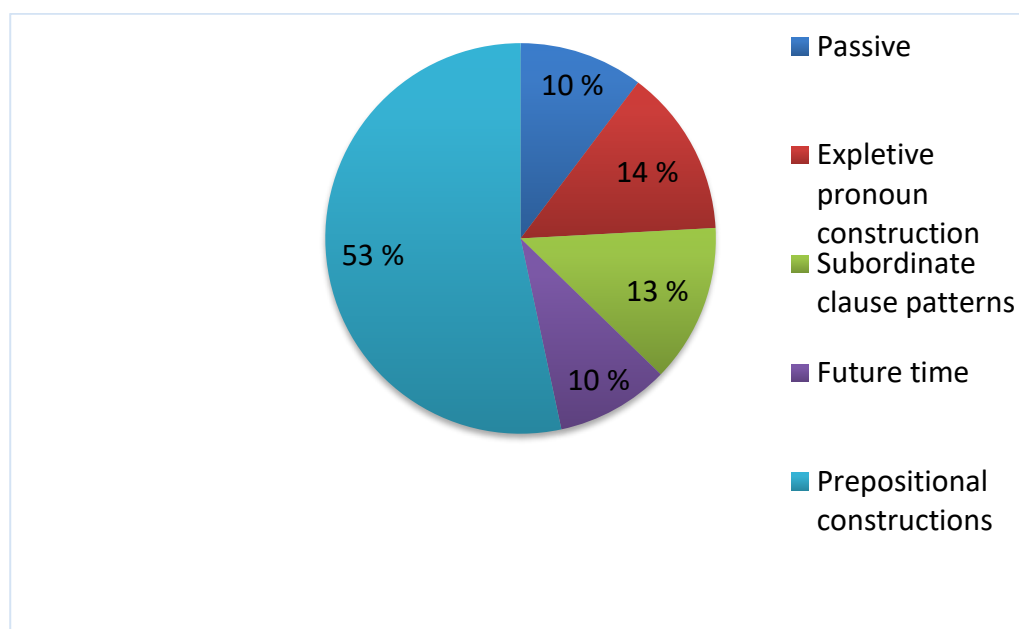


Figure 10: Syntactic transfer in Finnish-speakers' compositions in Meriläinen (2010)

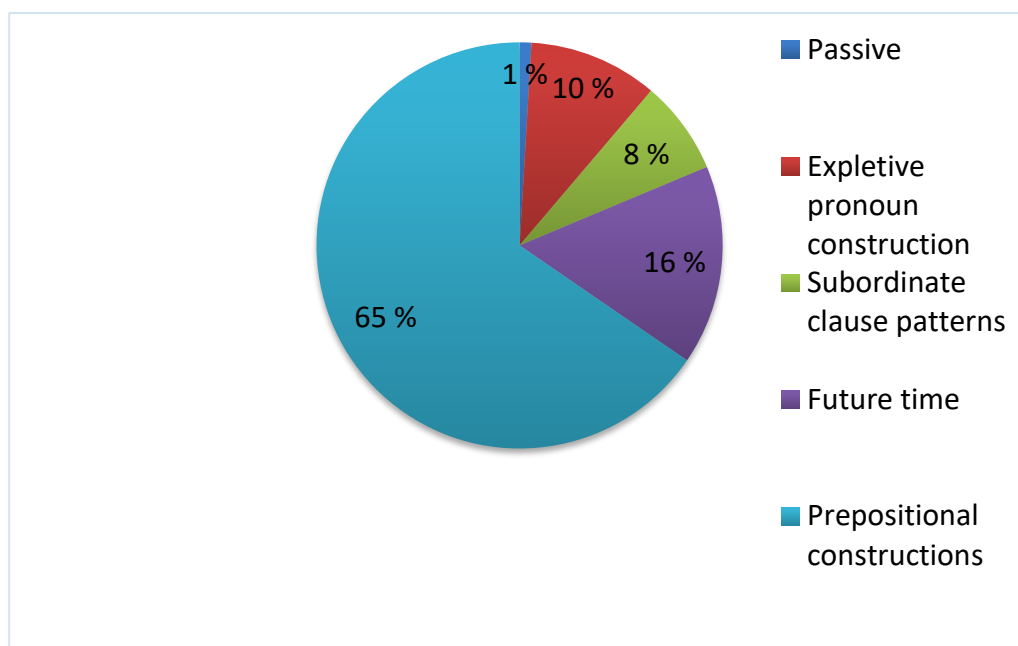


Figure 11: Syntactic transfer in Finnish-speakers' compositions in Nevanperä (2017)

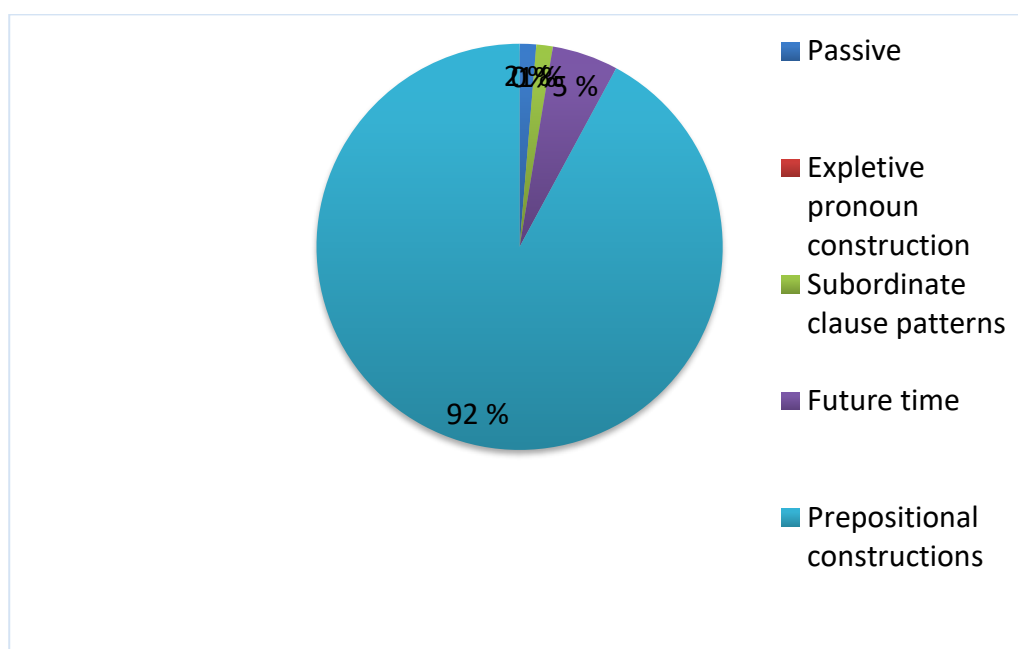


Figure 12: Syntactic transfer in Swedish-speakers' compositions in Nevanperä (2017)

## **Appendix 8: Legend of grammatical abbreviations**

1SG	first person singular
2SG	second person singular
3SG	third person singular
1PL	first person plural
2PL	second person plural
3PL	third person plural

COND	conditional
GEN	genitive
PAR	partitive
PAS	passive
PL	plural